LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

EVAN T. SAGE

AND

ALFRED C. SCHLESINGER

BOOKS XL–XLII

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CONTENTS

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE vii

Book XL 1
Summary of Book XL 181
Book XLI 183
Summary of Book XLI 287
Book XLII 291
Summary of Book XLII 507

INDEX OF NAMES 509

MAPS 523
1. Italy
2. Greece
3. The Mediterranean World
4. The City of Rome

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

At least two-thirds of this volume is the work of Professor Sage. At the time of his death he had prepared the text of Books XL–XLII complete, and had carried the translation through ch. xxi. of Book XLII. The General Editors and the new editor of this volume have not found it necessary to revise the text; in the translation, the latter part of which was a first draft, the phrasing has been at times altered, and a few additional notes to Book XLII supplied. Doctor Adalaide J. Wegner, colleague and collaborator of Professor Sage, has kindly supplied numerous notes, textual and factual, which were planned by Professor Sage but not incorporated in his draft of the whole. Beginning with ch. xxii. of Book XLII, the new editor has supplied the translation and its notes. He regrets his inability to furnish such a lucid introductory sketch as Professor Sage put at the beginning of his previous volumes. The maps, place-lists for which were compiled by the new editor, are intended to illustrate every geographical reference in the text which allows of graphic treatment; a list of peoples and places which cannot be located, except for the hints given by Livy, is offered with the maps. Kiepert's *Atlas antiquus* has been used in

preparing these maps. Kiepert has been followed exactly, except that the Maedi are placed farther to the north-east than he shows them. The names with question-marks are those not given by Kiepert; the degree of doubt indicated by the question-mark is sometimes slight, but the following are highly conjectural: in Italy, Mutila; in Greece, Astraeum, Gitana, the Paroria, Tripolis Scaea; on the general map, the Balari and Ilienses can only be placed in the mountains of Sardinia, probably to the north, and occupy more map-space than they did territory. The map of Rome is taken from O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, München, Beck, 1901 (Iwan Müller, *Handbuch*, III, 3), by kind permission of the publishers. The buildings with a question-mark can only be placed in the general vicinity indicated, as is done in the Richter text. Two Spanish towns on the unplaced list are sometimes placed in Farther Spain, Aebura being interpreted as Ebora in Lusitania, and Certima, as Cartima on the southern coast; Munda, according to this interpretation, is the site of Caesar's victory in the south. This theory assumes an error on Livy's part in placing the campaigns described in XL. xxx.–xxxiii. and xlvii.–l; both editors prefer to hold to the manuscript text.

The following was written by Professor Sage:

In this volume the textual problem becomes more acute since Books XLI–XLV are preserved, and that not entire, in only one manuscript V (Codex Vindobonensis Lat. 15). This manuscript, belonging to either the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth, has suffered serious

losses. In its original form it probably contained the entire fifth decade, since the subscription to Book XLV now reads " titi livi ab urbe condita lib. XLV exp. inc. lib. XLVI feliciter." The loss of the five last books must have occurred before the eighth century, for the signature of Theubertus, an eighth-century bishop, appears at the close of Book XLV where the manuscript now ends. Before the eighth century the first quaternion and folios 1 and 8 of quaternions XXX and XXXIV were lost. The other losses to the manuscript, with the exception of the second quaternion, occurred between the time of Theubertus and 1531, when Grynaeus brought out the first edition of these books (ed. Frobeniana 1531). Some time between 1531 and 1669 the second quaternion, containing the text from XLI. 1–XLI. 9. 10 (edic) was lost.

Critical notes have been supplied upon those passages where it has been necessary to use the restorations and conjectures of sixteenth-century scholars. The apparatus of Giarratano (*Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita Libri XLI–XLV*, Rome 1933) furnishes additional suggestions for these passages.

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

M = Codex Moguntinus deperditus, s. 9 (?).
V = Codex Vindobonensis Lat. 15, s. 5 sive 6.
ς = Codices deteriores et editiones veteres (the most important early editions are cited by name).
Fr. = editio Frobeniana 1531, ed. Grynaeus.

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LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XL

T. LIVI
AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XL

A.U.C. 572

I. Principio insequentis anni consules praetoresque sortiti provincias sunt. Consulibus nulla praeter Ligures quae decerneretur erat. Iurisdictio urbana M. Ogulnio[1] Gallo, inter peregrinos M. Valerio 2 evenit; Hispaniarum Q. Fulvio Flacco citerior, P. Manlio ulterior, L. Caecilio Dentri Sicilia, C. Terentio Istrae Sardinia. Dilectus habere consules 3 iussi. Q. Fabius ex Liguribus scripserat Apuanos ad rebellionem spectare, periculumque esse ne 4 impetum in agrum Pisanum facerent. Et ex Hispaniis citeriorem in armis esse et cum Celtiberis bellari sciebant; in ulteriore, quia diu aeger esset praetor, luxuria et otio solutam disciplinam militarem esse. 5 Ob ea novos exercitus conscribi placuit, quattuor legiones in Ligures, uti singulae quina milia et ducenos pedites trecenos haberent equites, sociorum

[1] M. Ogulnio *edd. vett.*: ogulino *aut* ogolino ϝ.

LIVY
FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XL

I. In the beginning of the following year the B.C. 182 consuls and praetors drew lots for their provinces. For the consuls there was no province to be decreed except the Ligurians. The civil jurisdiction fell to Marcus Ogulnius Gallus, that between citizens and aliens to Marcus Valerius, Nearer Spain to Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Farther Spain to Publius Manlius, Sicily to Lucius Caecilius Denter, Sardinia to Gaius Terentius Istra. The consuls were directed to conduct the levies. Quintus Fabius had written from the Ligurian country that the Apuani were meditating rebellion and that there was danger that they would invade the territory of Pisa. As to the Spains also, they knew that the nearer province was in arms and that there was war with the Celtiberians; in the farther province, because the praetor had long been sick, they knew that military discipline had grown slack from easy living and idleness. For these reasons it was determined to enlist new armies, four legions for service against the Ligurians, each to consist of fifty-two hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry, and, in addition thereto, fifteen

A.U.C. 572

iisdem Latini nominis quindecim milia peditum addita et octingenti[1] equites. Hi duo consulares 6 exercitus essent. Scribere praeterea iussi septem milia peditum sociorum ac Latini nominis et quadringentos equites et mittere ad M. Marcellum in Galliam, cui ex consulatu prorogatum imperium erat. 7 In Hispaniam utramque quae ducerentur, quattuor milia peditum civium Romanorum et ducenti equites, et sociorum septem milia peditum cum trecentis 8 equitibus scribi iussa. Et Q. Fabio Labeoni cum exercitu quem habebat in Liguribus prorogatum in annum imperium est.

II. Ver procellosum eo anno fuit. Pridie Parilia,[2] medio ferme die, atrox cum vento tempestas coorta multis sacris profanisque locis stragem fecit, signa 2 aenea in Capitolio deiecit, forem ex aede Lunae quae in Aventino est raptam tulit et in posticis parietibus Cereris templi adfixit, signa alia in circo maximo cum 3 columnis quibus superstabant evertit, fastigia aliquot templorum a culminibus abrupta foede dissipavit. Itaque in prodigium versa ea tempestas, procurarique 4 haruspices iusserunt. Simul procuratum est quod tripedem mulum Reate natum nuntiatum erat, et a Formiis[3] aedem Apollinis Caietae de caelo tactam.

[1] octingenti ς : trecenti *M*.
[2] Parilia *ed. Veneta* 1498 : palilia ς.
[3] *post* Formiis *lacunam susp. Drakenborch, quam neglexi.*

[1] The festival of Pales, a shepherd-divinity, celebrated on April 21, the birthday of Rome.
[2] This temple was near the Circus Maximus.

thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy. These were to be the two consular armies. In addition, they were ordered to enlist seven thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy and to send them to Marcus Marcellus in Gaul, his *imperium* having been prolonged after his consulship. They were also directed to enroll troops which were to be conducted to the two Spains, four thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry of Roman citizens and of the allies seven thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. Also the *imperium* of Quintus Fabius Labeo among the Ligurians, along with the army which he had, was extended for a year. B.C. 183

II. The spring was stormy that year. The day before the Parilia,[1] about noon, a heavy storm accompanied by wind came and caused damage to many places sacred and profane, overthrew bronze statues on the Capitoline, tore a door-post from the temple of Luna which is on the Aventine, carried it to the rear walls of the temple of Ceres[2] and fastened it there, blew down other statues in the Circus Maximus, together with the columns on which they rested, and violently tore loose from their tops the roofs of a number of temples and scattered them. Therefore this storm was turned into a prodigy, and the *haruspices* ordered atonement to be made. At the same time atonement was made because news had come from Reate that a mule with three feet had been born and from Formiae[3] that the temple of Apollo at Caieta had been struck by lightning. By

[3] It seems unnecessary to assume a lacuna. The two towns were close together and the actual message may have come from Formiae, which was on the main highway.

a.u.c. 572

Ob ea prodigia viginti hostiis maioribus sacrificatum est [1] et diem unum supplicatio fuit.

5 Per eos dies ex litteris A. Terentii propraetoris cognitum P. Sempronium in ulteriore provincia, cum plus annum aeger fuisset, mortuum esse. Eo maturius in Hispaniam praetores iussi proficisci.

6 Legationes deinde transmarinae in senatum introductae sunt, primae [2] Eumenis et Pharnacis regum et 7 Rhodiorum querentium de Sinopensium clade. Philippi quoque legati et [3] Achaeorum et Lacedaemoniorum sub idem tempus venerunt. Iis prius Marcio audito, qui ad res Graeciae Macedoniaeque 8 visendas missus erat, responsa data sunt. Asiae regibus ac Rhodiis responsum est legatos ad eas res visendas senatum missurum.

III. De Philippo auxerat curam Marcius: nam ita fecisse eum [4] quae senatui placuissent fatebatur, ut facile appareret non diutius quam necesse esset 2 facturum. Neque obscurum erat rebellaturum, omniaque quae tunc ageret diceretque eo spectare. 3 Iam primum omnem fere multitudinem civium ex maritimis civitatibus cum familiis suis in Emathiam, quae nunc dicitur, quondam appellata Paeonia est,

[1] est *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* ς.
[2] primae *Crévier*: prima ς.
[3] et *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[4] eum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* ς.

[1] King of Pontus.

[2] Sinopê had been conquered by Pharnaces and her Rhodian allies had undertaken the embassy in her behalf. Sinopê had not previously been thought of as within the Roman sphere of interest in Asia.

[3] Cf. XXXIX. xlviii. 5.

[4] Polybius (XXIV. x (XXIII. ix)) says more explicitly "that he had indeed done all that was enjoined on him, but with great reluctance; and that if he got an opportunity, he would go to all lengths against the Romans" (Shuckburgh's translation).

reason of these prodigies a sacrifice of twenty full- B.C. 182 grown victims was offered and one day of prayer celebrated.

During this period it was learned from dispatches from Aulus Terentius the propraetor that Publius Sempronius had died in the farther province after an illness of more than a year. For this reason the praetors were directed to set out earlier for Spain.

Then embassies from overseas were introduced into the senate, first those of the kings, Eumenes and Pharnaces,[1] and of the Rhodians, who were complaining of the slaughter of the people of Sinopê.[2] Ambassadors from Philip also and from the Achaeans and Lacedaemonians arrived about the same time. After first hearing the report of Marcius, who had been sent to investigate conditions in Greece and Macedonia,[3] answers were given them. The kings of Asia and the Rhodians received the reply that the senate would send commissioners to look into these matters.

III. With regard to Philip, Marcius had increased the senate's concern: for he admitted that Philip had done what it had demanded, but in such a way that it was clearly evident that he would not continue to do so longer than was necessary.[4] Nor was it a secret that he would resort to arms, and that everything that he did and said had this in view. In the first place he moved almost the entire population of citizens, families and all, from the towns along the coast to what is now called Emathia and was formerly Paeonia, and the cities he gave as

A.U.C. 572

4 traduxit, Thracibusque et aliis barbaris urbes tradidit habitandas, fidiora haec genera hominum fore ratus
5 in Romano bello. Ingentem ea res fremitum Macedonia tota fecit, relinquentesque penates suos cum coniugibus ac liberis pauci tacitum dolorem continebant; execrationesque in agminibus proficiscentium
6 in regem vincente odio metum exaudiebantur. His ferox animus omnes homines omnia loca temporaque
7 suspecta habebat. Postremo negare propalam coepit satis tutum sibi quicquam esse, nisi liberos eorum quos interfecisset comprehensos in custodia haberet et tempore alium alio tolleret.

IV. Eam crudelitatem, foedam per se, foediorem
2 unius domus clades fecit. Herodicum principem Thessalorum multis ante annis occiderat; generos quoque eius postea interfecit. In viduitate relictae
3 filiae singulos filios parvos habentes. Theoxena et Archo nomina iis erant mulieribus. Theoxena multis
4 petentibus aspernata nuptias est: Archo Poridi cuidam, longe principi gentis Aenianum, nupsit et apud eum plures enixa partus, parvis admodum
5 relictis omnibus, decessit. Theoxena, ut in suis manibus liberi sororis educarentur, Poridi nupsit; et tamquam omnes ipsa enixa foret, suum [1] sororisque
6 filios [2] in eadem habebat cura. Postquam regis edictum de comprehendendis liberis eorum qui

[1] suum *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[2] filios *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.

[1] Polybius (XXIV. viii a (XXIII. x)) represents him as quoting a verse from the epic poet Stasinus: νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας υἱοὺς καταλείπει, "A fool is he who, having slain the

homes to Thracians and other barbarians, thinking B.C. 182
that these tribes would be more loyal in a Roman war. This act caused tremendous lamentation throughout all Macedonia, and few, as they left their ancestral homes with their wives and children, kept their grief concealed; and from the columns of migrants curses upon the king were heard, hatred getting the better of their fear. The king's temper, made fierce by these things, held all men, all places and occasions in suspicion. Finally he began to say publicly that he could not find any real security unless the children of those whom he had executed were arrested, kept under guard, and killed one by one, as occasion offered.[1]

IV. This cruelty, dreadful in itself, was made more dreadful by the destruction of one household. Herodicus, a leading man among the Thessalians, had been put to death many years before; his sons-in-law also had been killed later. His daughters were left in widowhood, each having one small son. Theoxena and Archo were the names of these women. Theoxena, though she had many suitors, disdained marriage: Archo married a certain Poris, by far the first citizen among the Aeneans,[2] and after bearing several children, all left quite small, she died in his house. Theoxena, in order that the children of her sister might be brought up in her hands, married Poris; and as if she were the mother of them all, she devoted the same care to her own child and her sister's children. After she received the king's proclamation about the

father, leaves the sons behind." Both Polybius and Livy seem to conceive of the fall of Philip in dramatic form and to employ some of the technique of tragedy in their narratives.

[2] He probably came from Aenea, not Aenus.

A.U.C. 572

interfecti essent accepit, ludibrio futuros non regis modo sed custodum etiam libidini [1] rata ad rem 7 atrocem animum adiecit ausaque est dicere se sua manu potius omnes interfecturam quam in pote- 8 statem Philippi venirent. Poris abominatus mentionem tam foedi facinoris Athenas deportaturum eos ad fidos hospites dixit, comitemque ipsum fugae 9 futurum esse. Proficiscuntur ab Thessalonica Aeneam ad statum [2] sacrificium, quod Aeneae conditori cum magna caerimonia quotannis faciunt. 10 Ibi die per sollemnes epulas consumpto navem praeparatam a Poride sopitis omnibus de tertia vigilia conscendunt tamquam redituri Thessalonicam; [3] sed 11 traicere in Euboeam erat propositum. Ceterum in adversum ventum nequiquam eos tendentes prope terram lux oppressit, et regii qui praeerant custodiae portus lembum armatum ad retrahendam [4] eam navem miserunt cum gravi edicto ne reverterentur 12 sine ea. Cum iam [5] appropinquabant, Poris quidem ad hortationem remigum nautarumque intentus erat; interdum manus ad caelum tendens deos ut ferrent 13 opem orabat. Ferox interim femina, ad multo ante praecogitatum revoluta facinus, venenum diluit ferrumque promit et posito in conspectu poculo strictisque gladiis " mors " inquit " una vindicta est. 14 Viae ad mortem hae sunt: qua quemque animus fert,

[1] libidini *Sigonius*: libidinis σ.
[2] statum *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: statutum *aut* statuam σ.
[3] Thessalonicam *Gronovius*: in thessalonicam σ.
[4] retrahendam *Perizonius*: pertrahendam $M\sigma$.
[5] cum iam *Gelenius*: quoniam dies *aut* cum dies σ.

arrest of the children of the men who had been put B.C. 182 to death, thinking that they would be exposed not only to the mockery of the king but even to the lust of the guards, she turned her thoughts to a deed of horror, and dared to say that she would rather kill them all with her own hand than let them fall into the power of Philip. Poris, hating even the thought of so dreadful a deed, said that he would take them to faithful friends in Athens and would himself be their companion in exile. They set out from Thessalonica to Aenea to an appointed sacrifice which they make [1] every year to Aeneas, their founder, with elaborate ceremony. Having spent a day there in the ritual feasts, when all were asleep, about the third watch they went aboard a ship made ready in advance by Poris, as if to return to Thessalonica; their plan, however, was to cross to Euboea. But strain as they might in vain against an opposing wind, day caught them near the shore, and the king's troops who were in charge of the guarding of the harbour sent an armed brig to bring back that ship, with strict orders not to return without it. When they were now close to shore, Poris was engaged in urging on the rowers and sailors; sometimes stretching out his hands to heaven, he would pray that the gods would send help. Meanwhile the maddened woman, turning to the crime she had long been planning, mixed the poison and displayed the steel, and placing the cup in sight and drawing the swords, she said, " Death is the one way to freedom. These are the ways to death: by whichever your mind prefers, escape the tyranny of

[1] The present account may have been taken over from Polybius, but the festival may still have been celebrated in Livy's time.

A.U.C. 572

effugite superbiam regiam. Agite, iuvenes mei, primum, qui maiores estis, capite ferrum aut haurite poculum, si segnior mors iuvat." Et hostes aderant et auctor mortis instabat. Alii alio leto absumpti semianimes e nave praecipitantur. Ipsa deinde virum comitem mortis complexa in mare sese deiecit. Nave vacua dominis regii potiti sunt.

V. Huius atrocitas facinoris novam velut flammam regis invidiae adiecit, ut vulgo ipsum liberosque exe-crarentur; quae dirae brevi ab omnibus diis exaudi-tae, ut saeviret ipse in suum sanguinem effecerunt. Perseus enim cum in dies magis cerneret favorem et dignitatem Demetrii fratris apud multitudinem Macedonum crescere et gratiam apud Romanos, sibi spem nullam regni superesse nisi in scelere ratus ad id unum omnes cogitationes intendit. Ceterum cum se ne ad id quidem quod muliebri cogitabat animo satis per se validum crederet, singulos amicorum patris temptare sermonibus perplexis institit. Et primo quidam ex his aspernantium tale quicquam prae-buerunt speciem, quia plus in Demetrio spei pone-bant; deinde crescente in dies Philippi odio in Romanos, cui Perseus indulgeret, Demetrius summa ope adversaretur, prospicientes animo exitum incauti a fraude fraterna iuvenis, adiuvandum quod futurum

[1] The episode is not found in Polybius. Livy treats it as almost the turning-point in the tragic action.

[2] The implication seems to be that Perseus was strong enough to plan a murder but not to commit it: if so, he acquired strength later.

the king. Come, my children, first you who are the elder, take the sword or drain the cup, if you like the slower death." From the one side the enemy was approaching, from the other the author of death was urging them. One carried off by one death, another by another, still half-living they were thrown into the sea. Then the woman herself, embracing her husband, the partner in her death, threw herself into the sea. The king's troops captured a ship empty of its masters.[1] B.C. 182

V. The horror of this act added, as it were, a new spark to the resentment against the king, so that people generally were cursing him and his sons; and these curses, heard by all the gods, presently brought it to pass that he himself took violent measures against his own kin. For when Perseus saw that the popularity and honour of his brother Demetrius were, among the Macedonian people, growing every day, as well as his influence with the Romans, thinking that no hope for the throne was left to him except through crime, he turned all his thoughts in that one direction. But since he believed that by himself he was not strong enough even for what he was planning in his effeminate[2] mind, he began to make trial of individuals among his father's friends with ambiguous remarks. And at first some of them gave the appearance of rejecting any such suggestion, since they placed more hope in Deme-trius; then, as Philip's hatred for the Romans increased daily, and Perseus nursed it and Demetrius tried with all his might to oppose it, foreseeing the destruction of the young man, off his guard against his brother's trickery, and, thinking that what was bound to happen should be helped along and that the

A.U.C. 572

erat rati fovendamque spem potentioris, Perseo se
6 adiungunt. Cetera in suum quaeque tempus agenda[1]
differunt: in praesentia placet omni ope in Romanos
accendi regem impellique ad consilia belli, ad quae
7 iam sua sponte animum inclinasset. Simul ut
Demetrius in dies suspectior esset, ex composito
sermones ad res[2] Romanorum trahebant. Ibi cum
alii mores et instituta eorum, alii res gestas, alii
speciem ipsius urbis nondum exornatae neque
publicis neque privatis locis, alii singulos[3] principum
8 eluderent, iuvenis incautus et amore nominis Romani
et certamine adversus fratrem omnia tuendo suspectum se patri et opportunum criminibus faciebat.
9 Itaque expertem eum pater omnium de rebus
Romanis consiliorum habebat: totus in Persea versus
cum eo cogitationes eius rei dies ac noctes agitabat.
10 Redierant[4] forte, quos miserat in Bastarnas ad
arcessenda auxilia, adduxerantque inde nobiles iuvenes et regii quosdam generis, quorum unus sororem
suam in matrimonium Philippi filio pollicebatur:
erexeratque consociatio gentis eius animum regis.
11 Tum Perseus " quid ista prosunt? " inquit; " nequaquam tantum in externis auxiliis est praesidii,
12 quantum periculi in fraude[5] domestica. Proditorem

[1] agenda *Gelenius*: *om.* ς.
[2] res *Novák*: spem *M*ς, *pro quo alius vir doctus aliud ex ingenio.*
[3] singulos *Gelenius*: in singulos ς.
[4] redierant *edd. vett.*: redierunt ς.
[5] in fraude *Gronovius*: fraude ς.

aspirations of the stronger should be encouraged, B.C. 182
they allied themselves with Perseus. Everything
else they put off until the proper time for action:
for the present it was decided to enkindle the king
in every way against the Romans and to turn him to
thoughts of war, to which he had already spontaneously turned his mind. At the same time, that
Demetrius might day by day become more an object
of suspicion, they agreed that they would draw the
conversation again and again to Roman topics.
Then, when some would poke fun at their manners
and customs, others at their achievements, others at
the appearance of the city itself, which was not yet
made beautiful in either its public or its private
sections, others at individual leaders, the young man,
being off his guard both because of his love for the
Roman people[1] and because of his rivalry with his
brother, by defending the Romans in everything
made himself suspicious in his father's eyes and a
fair target for attack. And so his father kept him
excluded from all his deliberations about Roman
affairs: turning entirely to Perseus he considered
with him all the plans for the war by day and night.
It happened that the agents had returned whom
Philip had sent to the Bastarnae to summon aid[2] and
had brought from there noble young men and some
of royal birth, one of whom promised his sister in
marriage to a son of Philip; alliance with this tribe
had cheered the spirits of the king. Then Perseus
said: " What good do such things do? There is by
no means as much protection in auxiliaries outside as
there is danger in treachery at home. I do not want

[1] Cf. XXXIX. xlvii–xlviii. 1 and the note.
[2] Cf. XXXIX. xxxv. 4.

A.U.C. 572

nolo dicere, certe speculatorem habemus in sinu, cuius [1] ex quo obses Romae fuit, corpus nobis reddi-
13 derunt Romani, animum ipsi habent. Omnium paene Macedonum in eum ora conversa sunt, nec regem se alium habituros aiunt [2] quam quem Romani
14 dedissent." His per se aegra mens senis stimulabatur, et animo magis quam vultu ea crimina accipiebat.

VI. Forte lustrandi exercitus venit [3] tempus, cuius sollemne est tale: caput mediae canis praecisae et pars ad dexteram, cum extis posterior ad laevam viae
2 ponitur: inter hanc divisam hostiam copiae armatae traducuntur. Praeferuntur primo agmini arma insignia omnium ab ultima origine Macedoniae regum,
3 deinde rex ipse cum liberis sequitur, proxima est regia cohors custodesque corporis, postremum agmen
4 Macedonum cetera multitudo claudit. Latera regis duo filii iuvenes cingebant, Perseus iam tricesimum annum agens, Demetrius quinquennio minor, medio iuventae robore ille, hic flore, fortunati patris matura
5 suboles, si mens sana fuisset. Mos erat lustrationis sacro peracto decurrere exercitum, et divisas bifariam
6 duas acies concurrere ad simulacrum pugnae. Regii iuvenes duces ei ludicro certamini dati; ceterum non imago fuit pugnae, sed tamquam de regno dimi-

[1] speculatorem habemus in sinu, cuius *Gelenius*: speculatorem cuius ς.
[2] habituros aiunt *Gelenius*: rentur habituros esse ς.
[3] venit *edd. vett.*: aduenit ς.

to say a traitor, but we have in our bosom at least a B.C. 182
spy, whose body, after he was a hostage at Rome, the Romans gave back to us but keep his soul themselves. The eyes of almost all the Macedonians are turned towards him, and they say that they will have no other king than the one whom the Romans shall have given them." Sick as the old man's mind already was, anyhow, it was by these means roused to passion, and he retained these insinuations in his heart rather than in his looks.

VI. It so happened that the time for purifying the army had come, for which there is a ritual of this sort: the fore part of a dog is cut off and placed on the right side of the road, the hind part, with the entrails, on the left; between the parts of the victim, thus divided, the troops are marched. At the head of the column are carried the arms and standards of all the kings from the earliest beginnings of Macedonia, then the present king, accompanied by his children, follows, next is the royal cohort and the bodyguard, and the rest, the rank and file of the Macedonians brings up the rear. The two youthful sons of the king were riding at his sides, Perseus being now in his thirtieth year, Demetrius five years younger, the former in the full strength of young manhood, the latter in its flower, the mature offspring of a father blessed by fortune, had a sound mind but been his. It was the custom when the ceremony of purification was finished to manoeuvre the army and dividing it into battle-lines to clash in a sham battle. The princes were assigned as commanders for this mock engagement: yet it was not the imitation of a battle, but they came together just as if it were a struggle for the throne, and many

A.U.C. 572

caretur, ita[1] concurrerunt, multaque vulnera rudibus[2] facta, nec praeter ferrum quicquam defuit ad iustam
7 belli speciem. Pars ea quae sub Demetrio erat longe superior fuit. Id aegre patiente Perseo laetari prudentes amici eius, eamque rem ipsam dicere praebituram causam criminandi iuvenis.

VII. Convivium eo die sodalium qui simul decurrerant uterque habuit, cum vocatus ad cenam ab
2 Demetrio Perseus negasset. Festo die benigna invitatio et hilaritas iuvenalis utrosque in vinum
3 traxit. Commemoratio ibi certaminis ludicri et iocosa dicta in adversarios, ita ut ne ipsis quidem
4 ducibus abstineretur iactabantur. Ad has excipiendas voces speculator ex convivis Persei missus cum incautior obversaretur, exceptus a iuvenibus
5 forte triclinio egressis male mulcatur. Huius rei ignarus Demetrius " quin comisatum " inquit " ad fratrem imus et iram eius, si qua ex certamine residet, simplicitate et hilaritate nostra lenimus? "
6 Omnes ire se conclamarunt praeter eos qui speculatoris ab se pulsati praesentem ultionem metuebant. Cum eos quoque Demetrius traheret, ferrum veste abdiderunt, quo se tutari, si qua vis fieret, possent.
7 Nihil occulti esse in intestina discordia potest. Utraque domus speculatorum et proditorum plena erat. Praecucurrit index ad Persea, ferro succinctos

[1] ita *ed. Aldina* : *om. M*σ.
[2] rudibus *Gronovius* : sudibus *M*σ.

[1] They were used for drill and for exhibitions.

[2] Livy takes such pains throughout to depict Demetrius as a frank, ingenuous, and even simple youth that one wonders what sources of information he had and what kind of a person Demetrius really was. In Livy's story his simplicity and lack of perception make him an easy prey to Perseus.

wounds were dealt by the pointless weapons,[1] nor B.C. 182
was anything but iron wanting to make it look like a regular battle. The division which was under Demetrius was far superior. When Perseus was angered at this, his shrewder friends rejoiced and said that this was just the thing that would give grounds for accusing the young man.

VII. Each of the two that day held a banquet for his companions who had taken part in the charge with him, after Perseus had refused when invited to dinner by Demetrius. On the holiday courteous invitations and youthful jollity encouraged both parties to drinking. There reminiscences of the sham battle and jokes at their opponents were bandied about, so that not even the leaders themselves were spared. When a spy, sent from the party of Perseus to catch remarks, was hovering incautiously too close, he was captured and roughly handled by some young men who happened to be leaving the dining room. Demetrius, knowing nothing of this occurrence, said, " Why don't we pursue our revels at my brother's, and by our openness and cheerfulness soothe his anger, if any is left from the battle? "[2] All shouted out to go, except those who feared immediate vengeance for the spy whom they had beaten. When Demetrius was for taking them also with him, they concealed under their cloaks weapons wherewith to defend themselves if an attack should be made. There can be no secrets in internal strife. Each house was full of spies and traitors. An informer went ahead to Perseus, bearing the news that four young men

A.U.C. 573

nuntians cum Demetrio quattuor adulescentes venire. 8 Etsi causa apparebat—nam ab iis pulsatum convivam suum audierat—infamandae rei causa ianuam obserari iubet, et ex parte superiore aedium versisque in viam fenestris comisatores, tamquam ad caedem 9 suam venientes, aditu ianuae arcet. Demetrius per vinum quod excluderetur paulisper vociferatus in convivium redit, totius rei ignarus.

VIII. Postero die Perseus, cum [1] primum conveniendi potestas patris fuit, regiam ingressus perturbato vultu in conspectu partis tacitus procul constitit. 2 Cui cum pater "satin salve?" et quaenam ea maestitia esset interrogaret eum, "de lucro [2] tibi" inquit "vivere me scito. Iam non occultis a fratre petimur insidiis; nocte cum armatis domum ad interficiendum me venit, clausisque foribus parietum 3 praesidio me a furore eius sum tutatus." Cum pavorem mixtum admiratione patri iniecisset, "atqui si aures praebere potes" inquit, "manifestam rem 4 teneas faciam." Enimvero se Philippus dicere auditurum, vocarique extemplo Demetrium iussit; et seniores amicos duos, expertes [3] iuvenalium inter fratres certaminum, infrequentes iam in regia, Lysimachum et Onomastum arcessit quos in consilio 5 haberet. Dum veniunt amici, solus filio procul stante multa secum animo volutans inambulavit. 6 Postquam venisse eos nuntiatum est, secessit in

[1] cum *ed. Parisina* 1513 : quam *aut* quod ς.
[2] lucro *Sigonius* : ludicro ς.
[3] expertes ς : expertos *M.*

armed with swords were coming with Demetrius. B.C. 183 Although their reason was obvious—for he had heard that his companion had been beaten by them—he ordered the door to be bolted in order to make the affair look serious, and from the upper part of the house and the windows that faced the street he kept the revellers, as if they were coming to murder him, from approaching the door. Demetrius, under the influence of wine, after shouting for a while because he was shut out, returned to his banquet, ignorant of the significance of the whole affair.

VIII. The next day Perseus, as soon as he had the opportunity to see his father, entered the palace with a troubled look and stood in sight of his father, but at a distance, without speaking. When his father said "Is it all right with you?" and asked what was the cause of his sadness, he replied, "You may count it as clear gain, I tell you, that I am alive. No longer are we being attacked by my brother with secret plots; he came last night with armed men to my house to kill me, and closing the doors I defended myself against his madness by the walls' protection." When he had inspired in his father fear mixed with wonder, he went on: "But if you can give this your attention, I shall cause you to grasp it clearly." Philip said that he would indeed listen, and immediately ordered Demetrius to be summoned; he also sent for two older men, his friends, who took no part in the youthful rivalries between the brothers and nowadays were rarely at the court, Lysimachus and Onomastus, to serve as his counsellors. While his friends were coming, he walked up and down alone, turning over many things in his mind, while his son stood apart. When it was announced that they had

A.U.C. 572

partem interiorem cum duobus amicis et totidem custodibus corporis; filiis ut ternos inermes secum
7 introducerent permisit. Ibi cum consedisset, "sedeo" inquit "miserrimus pater iudex inter duos filios, accusatorem parricidii et reum, aut conficti aut admissi[1] criminis labem apud meos inventurus.
8 Iam pridem quidem hanc procellam imminentem timebam, cum vultus inter vos minime fraternos
9 cernerem, cum voces quasdam exaudirem. Sed interdum spes animum subibat deflagrare iras vestras, purgari suspiciones posse. Etiam hostes armis positis foedus icisse, et privatas multorum simultates
10 finitas; subituram vobis aliquando germanitatis memoriam, puerilis quondam simplicitatis consuetudinisque inter vos, meorum denique praeceptorum, quae vereor ne vana surdis auribus cecinerim.
11 Quotiens ego audientibus vobis detestatus exempla discordiarum fraternarum horrendos eventus eorum rettuli, qui se stirpemque suam domos regna funditus
12 evertissent. Meliora quoque exempla parte altera posui: sociabilem consortionem inter binos Lacedaemoniorum reges, salutarem per multa saecula ipsis
13 patriaeque; eandem civitatem, postquam mos sibi cuique rapiendi tyrannidem exortus sit, eversam.
14 Iam hos Eumenem Attalumque fratres, ab tam[2] exiguis rebus prope ut puderet regii nominis, mihi

[1] admissi ς : commissi *M*.
[2] ab tam *Madvig* : a quam ς.

[1] Polybius (XXIV. viii a (XXIII. xi)) quotes a speech of Philip to the general purport of what follows here.

come he retired into the interior part of the palace B.C. 183
with his two friends and as many bodyguards; he permitted his sons to bring in three unarmed men each. When he had taken his seat there, he spoke as follows: "Here I sit, a most wretched father, as judge between my two sons, accuser and accused on a charge of parricide, doomed as I am to discover in my own household the dishonour of either the invention or the commission of a crime. For a long time, indeed, I had been fearing this threatening storm, when I saw your looks at one another, looks in no wise brotherly, and when I heard certain words. But sometimes hope entered my mind that your passions might burn out, that your suspicions might be cleared away. I told myself that even hostile nations had laid down their arms and made treaties and that the private quarrels of many had been ended; I hoped that some day a recollection of your kinship would come to you, of your one-time boyish frankness and mutual intercourse, and finally of my teachings, which I fear that I have recited in vain to unhearing ears. How often[1] in your presence, hating the examples of discord between brothers, I have reviewed the dreadful fates of those men who had utterly destroyed themselves, their houses, their homes, their kingdoms! On the other side also I set better examples: the harmonious compact between the pairs of Lacedaemonian kings, beneficial for many ages to themselves and to the state; the destruction of the same city after the custom had grown up that each should seize the tyranny for himself. Again I pointed out that the brothers Attalus and Eumenes, from beginnings so small that one would almost be ashamed to use the name of

A.U.C. 572

Antiocho cuilibet regum huius aetatis, nulla re magis quam fraterna unanimitate, regnum aequasse. 15 Ne Romanis quidem exemplis abstinui, quae aut visa aut audita habebam, T. et L. Quinctiorum, qui bellum mecum gesserunt, P. et L. Scipionum, qui Antiochum devicerunt, patris patruique eorum, quorum perpetuam vitae concordiam mors quoque miscuit. 16 Neque vos illorum scelus similisque sceleri eventus deterrere a vecordi discordia potuit, neque horum bona mens, bona fortuna ad sanitatem flectere. 17 Vivo et spirante me hereditatem meam ambo et spe 18 et cupiditate improba crevistis.[1] Eo usque me vivere vultis, donec alterius vestrum superstes haud ambiguum regem alterum mea morte faciam. Nec fratrem nec patrem potestis pati. Nihil cari, nihil sancti est. In omnium vicem regni unius insatiabilis 19 amor successit. Agite, conscelerate aures paternas, decernite criminibus, mox ferro decreturi, dicite palam quicquid aut veri potestis aut libet com- 20 minisci: reseratae aures sunt, quae posthac secretis alterius ab altero criminibus claudentur." Haec furens ira cum dixisset, lacrimae omnibus obortae et diu maestum silentium tenuit.

IX. Tum Perseus: "Aperienda nimirum nocte ianua fuit et armati comisatores accipiendi praebendumque ferro iugulum, quando non creditur nisi

[1] crevistis *Gelenius* "*ex exemp. Mog.*": petitis ζ.

[1] Cf. XXXIII. xxi. 2–3.

king,[1] have made their kingdom equal to me, to B.C. 182 Antiochus, to any king whatever of this age, and for no other reason than brotherly harmony. I did not avoid even Roman examples which I had either seen or heard of, that of Titus and Lucius Quinctius, who carried on the war against me, that of Publius and Lucius Scipio, who overthrew Antiochus, or of their father and uncle, whose enduring companionship in life death also cemented fast. Neither has the guilt of the former cases and the result, which was as horrible as the guilt, been able to deter you from your mad quarrelling nor the good feeling and good fortune which attended the latter to urge you to sanity. While I live and breathe, you, with wicked hopes and wicked desires as well, have both entered into my heritage. You wish me to live only until the time when, by surviving one of you, I shall by my death make the other an unquestioned king. You cannot brook either a brother or a father. Nothing dear, nothing sacred, exists for you. In place of everything else there has come an insatiable desire for one thing—the throne. Come, pollute your father's ears, reach by means of accusations the decision which you will presently reach with the sword, say openly whatever you can that is true or whatever you are pleased to invent: my ears are open which hereafter will be closed to secret charges made by the one against the other." When he had said this in a frenzy of rage, tears were shed by all, and for a long time a gloomy silence prevailed.

IX. Then Perseus spoke: "I should forsooth have opened my doors last night and admitted the armed revellers and offered my throat to their weapons, since a crime is not believed unless it has been committed,

A.U.C. 572

perpetratum facinus, et eadem[1] petitus insidiis
2 audio quae latro atque insidiator. Non nequiquam
isti unum Demetrium filium te habere, me subditum
3 et paelice genitum appellant. Nam si gradum, si
caritatem filii apud te haberem, non in me querentem
deprehensas insidias, sed in eum qui fecisset saevires,
4 nec adeo vilis tibi vita esset nostra ut nec praeterito
periculo meo movereris neque futuro, si insidiantibus
5 sit[2] impune. Itaque si mori tacitum oportet, tace-
amus, precati tantum deos ut a me coeptum scelus
in me finem habeat, nec per meum latus tu petaris:
6 sin autem, quod circumventis in solitudine natura
ipsa subicit, ut hominum quos numquam viderint
fidem tamen implorent, mihi quoque ferrum in me
strictum cernenti vocem mittere licet,[3] per te
7 patriumque nomen, quod utri nostrum sanctius sit
iam pridem sentis, ita me audias precor, tamquam si
voce et comploratione nocturna excitus mihi quiri-
tanti intervenisses, Demetrium cum armatis nocte
intempesta in vestibulo meo deprehendisses. Quod
tum vociferarer in re praesenti pavidus, hoc nunc
8 postero die queror. Frater, non comisantium in
vicem animis[4] iam diu vivimus inter nos. Regnare
utique vis. Huic spei tuae obstat aetas mea, obstat
gentium ius, obstat vetustus Macedoniae mos, obstat
9 vero etiam patris iudicium. Haec transcendere nisi

[1] et eadem *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : eadem *M* : eiusdem ς.
[2] sit *edd. vett.* : *om.* ς.
[3] licet *Gronovius* : liceat ς.
[4] animis *Madvig* : *om.* ς.

[1] That is, the general practise that the eldest son should inherit the throne. Perseus says nothing at this point of his own illegitimacy.

and I, after being attacked from ambush, hear the B.C. 182
same reproaches as the brigand and the plotter.
Not without reason do those people say that you
have one son, Demetrius, and that I am illegitimate
and born of a concubine. For if I had any standing
with you, or any of the affection due a son, you would
not be enraged at me for complaining of detected
plots, but at him who had contrived them, nor would
my life be so cheap in your sight that you would be
moved neither by my past nor by my future danger
if the plotters go unpunished. And so, if it is right
that I should die in silence, let me be silent, praying
only to the gods that the crime which began with me
may have its end with me, and that the sword may
not reach through my body to yours. But if, how-
ever, as nature herself suggests when men are set
upon in a lonely place, that they shall nevertheless
implore the aid of men whom they have never seen,
so, if I too, when I see the sword drawn against me,
am permitted to cry out, by your life and by the name
of father (and you have long since seen by which of
us that name is more respected), I beg that you will
listen to me as if you, aroused during the night by
my cries and laments, had yourself responded to
my appeal, and had caught Demetrius and his armed
band in the dead of night at my vestibule. My cry
at that time, as I trembled at the presence of danger,
is now, the next day, my complaint. My brother,
we have long lived with one another in no spirit of
boon companions. You wish of course to be king.
In the way of this ambition of yours stand my age,
the rule of nations,[1] the ancient custom of Mace-
donia, and indeed also the decision of our father.
You cannot surmount these obstacles except by

A.U.C. 572

per meum sanguinem non potes. Omnia moliris et temptas. Adhuc seu cura mea seu fortuna restitit
10 parricidio tuo. Hesterno[1] die in lustratione et decursu et simulacro ludicro pugnae funestum prope proelium fecisti, nec me aliud a morte vindicavit
11 quam quod me ac meos vinci passus sum. Ab hostili proelio, tamquam fraterno lusu,[2] pertrahere me ad cenam voluisti. Credis me, pater, inter inermes convivas cenaturum fuisse, ad quem armati comisatum venerunt? Credis nihil a gladiis nocte periculi mihi futurum fuisse,[3] quem rudibus[4] te inspectante
12 prope occiderunt? Quid hoc noctis, quid inimicus[5] ad iratum, quid cum ferro succinctis iuvenibus venis? Convivam me tibi committere ausus non sum: comisatorem te cum armatis venientem
13 recipiam? Si aperta ianua fuisset, funus meum parares hoc tempore, pater, quo querentem audis. Nihil ego, tamquam accusator, criminose nec dubia
14 argumentis colligendo ago. Quid enim? Negat venisse se cum multitudine ad ianuam meam, an ferro succinctos secum fuisse? Quos nominavero, arcesse. Possunt quidem omnia audere qui hoc ausi
15 sunt: non tamen audebunt negare. Si deprehensos intra limen meum cum ferro ad te deducerem, pro[6] manifesto haberes: fatentes pro deprehensis habe.

[1] hesterno *Drakenborch*: hesterna ς.
[2] lusu *edd. vett.*: iussu ς.
[3] periculum mihi futurum fuisse *Madvig*: periculum fuisse *aut* p. f. mihi ς.
[4] rudibus *Gronovius*: sudibus ς.
[5] inimicus *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ut inimicus ς.
[6] pro *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: rem pro ς.

killing me. You try and attempt everything. Thus B.C. 182
far either my care or my good fortune has thwarted your murderous designs. Yesterday, in the purification and the manoeuvres and the holiday's sham battle, you almost made the fight fatal, nor did anything else save me from death except that I permitted myself and my force to be defeated. From this warlike combat, as though it had been a game between brothers, you tried to entice me to your dinner. Do you think, father, that I should have dined among unarmed guests, when armed men came to my house to conduct their revels? Do you think that I should not have been in danger from swords at night when in the day-time, before your eyes, they had well-nigh killed me with headless spears? Why, Demetrius, do you come late at night, why in hostile mood to an angry man, why accompanied by young men equipped with swords? I did not dare to entrust myself to you as a dinner-guest: should I receive you when you came as a reveller with armed attendants? If my door had been open, father, you would be preparing my funeral at this very moment when you are hearing my complaint. I am not, like a prosecutor, pleading by innuendo nor deducing uncertain consequences from evidence. What now? Does he deny that he came to my door with a crowd or that there were armed men with him? Summon those men whom I shall name. They can indeed dare anything who have dared this: yet they will not dare to deny it. If I should bring them before you, having arrested them with weapons within my threshold, you would consider the case as clear: pray consider them, since they admit their guilt, as men arrested.

A.U.C. 572

X. "Execrare nunc cupiditatem regni, et furias fraternas concita.[1] Sed ne sint caecae, pater, execrationes tuae, discerne, dispice insidiatorem et
2 petitum insidiis: noxium incesse[2] caput. Qui occisurus fratrem fuit, habeat etiam iratos paternos deos: qui periturus fraterno scelere fuit, perfugium
3 in patris misericordia et iustitia habeat. Quo enim alio confugiam, cui non sollemne lustrale exercitus tui, non decursus militum, non domus, non epulae, non nox ad quietem data naturae beneficio mortalibus
4 tuta est? Si iero ad fratrem invitatus, moriendum est; si recepero intra ianuam comisatum fratrem,
5 moriendum est: nec eundo nec manendo insidias evito. Quo me conferam? Nihil praeter deos, pater, et te colui. Non Romanos habeo ad quos confugiam: perisse expetunt, quia tuis iniuriis doleo, quia tibi ademptas tot urbes, tot gentes, modo Thraciae maritimam oram, indignor. Nec me nec
6 te incolumi Macedoniam suam futuram sperant. Si me scelus fratris, te senectus absumpserit, aut ne ea quidem expectata fuerit, regem regnumque Macedoniae sua futura sciunt. Si quid extra Macedoniam tibi Romani reliquissent, mihi quoque id relictum
7 crederem receptaculum. At in Macedonibus satis praesidii est. Vidisti hesterno die impetum militum in me. Quid illis defuit nisi ferrum? Quod illis defuit interdiu, convivae fratris noctu sumpserunt.

[1] concita *Gelenius*: cogita ς.
[2] incesse *Ruben*: huic esse ς.

X. "Curse now this lust for the throne, and awake B.C. 183 the furies that avenge a brother's death. But, father, lest your curses be blind, sort out and distinguish between the plotter and the intended victim of the plot: let your wrath fall upon the guilty head. Let him who planned to kill his brother find also his father's gods incensed; let him who was to perish by his brother's crime find refuge in the mercy and justice of his father. For whither else am I to flee, for whom the ritual purification of your army, the manoeuvres of the troops, my home, the feast, the night, which nature in her kindness gave as a time of rest for mortals, are not safe? If I go to my brother on his invitation, I must die; if I receive my brother on his revels within my gates, I must die: neither by going nor by staying do I avoid the ambush. Whither shall I turn? To nought have I done reverence, father, save to the gods and you. It is not the Romans to whom I can flee: they wish my death because I grieve at the wrongs which have been done to you, because I am angry that so many cities, so many tribes, and now the coast of Thrace, have been taken from you. While either I or you survive, they have no hope that Macedonia will be theirs. If a brother's crime shall carry me off and old age you, or if they do not even wait for that, they know that the king and kingdom of Macedonia will be theirs. If the Romans had left you anything outside of Macedonia, I should believe that what was left would be a safe hiding-place for me also. But, some one may say, there is sufficient protection in the Macedonians. You saw yesterday the attack of the soldiers upon me. What was lacking to them except steel? What was lacking to them by day my brother's guests

A.U.C. 572

8 Quid de magna parte principum loquar, qui in Romanis spem omnem dignitatis et fortunae posuerunt et in eo qui omnia apud Romanos potest? Neque hercule istum mihi tantum, fratri maiori, sed prope est ut tibi quoque ipsi, regi et patri, praeferant. 9 Iste enim est cuius beneficio poenam tibi senatus remisit, qui nunc te ab armis Romanis protegit, qui tuam senectutem obligatam et obnoxiam 10 adulescentiae suae esse aequum censet. Pro isto Romani stant, pro isto omnes urbes tuo imperio liberatae, pro isto Macedones qui pace Romana gaudent. Mihi praeter te, pater, quid usquam aut spei aut praesidii est?

XI. "Quo spectare illas litteras ad te nunc missas T. Quinctii credis, quibus et bene te consuluisse rebus tuis ait quod Demetrium Romam miseris, et hortatur ut iterum et cum pluribus legatis et primoribus eum 2 remittas Macedonum? T. Quinctius nunc est auctor omnium rerum isti et magister. Eum sibi te[1] abdicato patre in locum tuum substituit. Illic ante 3 omnia clandestina concocta sunt consilia. Quaeruntur adiutores consiliis, cum te plures et principes Macedonum cum isto mittere iubet. Qui hinc integri et sinceri Romam eunt, Philippum regem se

[1] te *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.

[1] Demetrius.

[2] Cf. XXXIX. xlvii. 11.

[3] This letter has not been mentioned by Livy but is quoted by Polybius (XXIV. iii (XXIII. iii)), who adds that in private conversation Quinctius captivated the young man by suggesting that the Romans meant to place him on the throne.

took up at night. What shall I say about the great B.C. 182 proportion of our leading men, who have placed in the Romans all hopes of advancement and power, and in him[1] who is all-powerful with the Romans? Nor, by Hercules, is it merely that they prefer him to me, his elder brother, but it is not far from true that they prefer him even to you yourself, king and father though you are. For he it is through whose generosity the senate remitted the penalty to you,[2] who now safeguards you from Roman arms, who deems it right that your old age should be bound and beholden to his youth. For him stand the Romans, for him, all the cities liberated from your authority, for him the Macedonians who rejoice in the Roman peace. For me, father, what hope or support is there anywhere except in you?

XI. "What do you think is the purpose of that letter which has just been sent to you by Titus Quinctius,[3] in which he says first that you took good care of your interests when you sent Demetrius to Rome, and then urges that you send him again, accompanied by a longer train of ambassadors and chieftains of the Macedonians? Titus Quinctius is now his guide and teacher in all matters. You, his father, have been pushed aside, and he has chosen Quinctius to put in your place. There above all have secret plans been devised. It is assistants in carrying out these plans that they are seeking, since he bids you send with him more Macedonians and chiefs of the state. Those who go to Rome from here sound and untainted, believing that they have Philip for

One can hardly suspect Flamininus of deliberate double dealing, but he certainly played into the hands of Perseus: cf. also xxiii. 7 below.

A.U.C. 572

habere credentes, imbuti illinc et infecti Romanis
4 delenimentis redeunt. Demetrius iis unus omnia
est, eum iam regem vivo patre appellant. Haec si
indignor, audiendum est statim non ab aliis solum sed
5 etiam a te, pater, cupiditatis regni crimen. Ego
vero, si in medio ponitur, non agnosco. Quem enim
suo loco moveo ut ipse in eius locum succedam?
Unus ante me pater est, et ut diu sit deos rogo.
6 Superstes—et ita sim, si merebor, ut ipse me esse
velit[1]—hereditatem regni, si pater tradet, accipiam.
7 Cupit regnum, et quidem scelerate cupit, qui trans-
cendere festinat ordinem aetatis naturae moris
Macedonum iuris gentium. 'Obstat frater maior,
ad quem iure voluntate etiam patris regnum pertinet.
8 Tollatur: non primus regnum fraterna caede petiero.[2]
Pater senex et filio solus orbatus de se magis timebit[3]
quam ut filii necem ulciscatur.[4] Romani laetabuntur,
9 probabunt, defendent factum.' Hae spes incertae,
10 pater, sed non inanes sunt. Ita enim se res habet:
periculum vitae propellere a me potes puniendo eos
qui ad me interficiendum ferrum sumpserunt; si
facinori eorum successerit, mortem meam idem tu
persequi non poteris."

XII. Postquam dicendi finem Perseus fecit,
coniecti eorum qui aderant oculi in Demetrium sunt,
2 velut confestim responsurus esset. Deinde diu

[1] me esse uelit ς: me uult esse *M*.
[2] petiero *Gelenius*: potior ς.
[3] de—timebit *Gelenius*: et magis timebit ne irascatur ς.
[4] ulciscatur *Gelenius*: patiatur ς.

their king, return from there stained and corrupted B.C. 182
by Roman enchantments. Demetrius alone is
everything to them, and even now, while his father is
alive, they hail him as king. If I am indignant at
these things, I must at once listen to the charge, not
from others alone, but even from you, father, that I
am coveting the throne! But for my part, if this
charge is put forward openly, I do not admit its truth.
For whom am I removing from his proper place, that
I may step into his place? Only my father is before
me, and I pray the gods that he may long be there.
Should I survive—and may I so behave that he
may himself wish me to survive, if I deserve it—I
shall receive the inheritance of the kingship if my
father will hand it on to me. *He* covets the throne
and indeed covets it to the point of crime, since he
hastens to leap over precedence in age, in nature, the
usage of the Macedonians, the law of nations. 'My
elder brother' says Demetrius, 'stands in my way,
to whom the kingdom belongs by law and also by our
father's wish. Let him be removed: I shall not have
been the first to seek a kingdom by murdering a
brother. Our father, an old man and lonely, be-
reaved of his son, will fear too much for himself to
avenge the death of his son. The Romans will
rejoice, will applaud, will defend my act.' Such
hopes, father, are uncertain but not groundless.
For such is the situation: you can avert the peril to
my life by punishing those who have armed them-
selves against me; if success attends their crime, you
yourself will be unable to avenge my death."

XII. When Perseus had finished speaking, the
eyes of all who were present were turned on Deme-
trius, as if he would instantly reply. Then a long

A.U.C. 572

fuit silentium, cum perfusum[1] fletu appareret omnibus loqui non posse. Tandem vicit dolorem ipsa necessitas, cum dicere iuberent, atque ita orsus
3 est. " Omnia quae reorum antea fuerant auxilia, pater, praeoccupavit accusator. Simulatis lacrimis in alterius perniciem veras meas lacrimas suspectas
4 tibi fecit. Cum ipse, ex quo ab Roma redii, per occulta cum suis colloquia[2] dies noctesque insidietur, ultro mihi non insidiatoris modo sed latronis manifesti
5 et percussoris speciem induit. Periculo suo te exterret, ut innoxio fratri per eundem te maturet perniciem. Perfugium sibi nusquam gentium esse ait, ut ego ne apud te quidem spei quicquam reliqui
6 habeam. Circumventum solum inopem invidia gratiae externae, quae obest potius quam prodest, onerat. Iam illud quam accusatorie, quod noctis huius crimen miscuit cum cetera insectatione vitae
7 meae, ut et hoc quod iam quale sit scies suspectum alio vitae nostrae tenore faceret, et illam vanam criminationem spei voluntatis consiliorum meorum nocturno hoc ficto et composito argumento fulciret!
8 Simul et illud quaesivit ut repentina et minime praeparata accusatio videretur, quippe ex noctis
9 huius metu et tumultu repentino exorta. Oportuit autem, Perseu, si proditor ego patris regnique eram,

[1] perfusum *edd. vett.*: perfuso *et similia* $\bar{r}$.
[2] colloquia *ed. Veneta* 1495: colloquens $\bar{r}$.

[1] Such lamentations were a standard and effective part of the defence-technique: for a striking case see Cicero *De oratore* I. 228.

silence followed, in which it was clear to all that, B.C. 182 choked with tears, he could not speak. At length his grief was overcome by his real necessity, when they commanded him to speak, and he thus began: " All those devices, father, which used to be of assistance to the accused, my accuser has been beforehand in seizing. With tears forced for the ruin of his opponent he has made my genuine tears suspicious in your sight.[1] Although he himself, ever since I returned from Rome, has been plotting day and night in secret conferences with his friends, he has taken the lead and put upon me the appearance, not merely of a conspirator, but of a professed bandit and murderer. He terrifies you with his own danger, in order that through your help he may hasten the ruin of his innocent brother. He claims that he has no place of refuge anywhere in the world, and so brings it to pass that I have no remnant of hope even in you. Me, encompassed with foes, abandoned, poor, he loads with the reproach of having influence abroad, which is a hindrance rather than a help. Again, see how like an accuser he was in mingling last night's offence with an indictment of my general mode of life, with the result that this incident, whose nature you will soon understand, he made suspicious by the conduct of my life in other respects, and that he bolstered up that mass of innuendo about my hopes, desires, plans, by this invented and fictitious dramatization of last night's affair. At the same time the object that he sought was that his accusation might seem sudden and entirely uncalculated, arising forsooth out of the fear and sudden tumult of last night. But, Perseus, if I was the betrayer of my father and the kingdom, if I had conspired with the

A.U.C. 572

si cum Romanis, si cum aliis inimicis patris inieram consilia, non expectatam fabulam esse noctis huius, 10 sed proditionis me ante [1] accusatum: si illa, separata hac,[2] vana accusatio erat invidiamque tuam adversus me magis quam crimen meum indicatura, hodie quoque eam aut praetermitti aut in aliud tempus 11 differri, ut per se quaereretur [3] utrum ego [4] tibi an tu mihi, novo quidem et singulari genere odii, insidias 12 fecisses. Ego tamen, quantum in hac subita perturbatione potero, separabo ea quae tu confudisti, et noctis huius insidias aut tuas aut meas detegam. 13 Occidendi sui consilium inisse me videri vult, ut scilicet maiore fratre sublato, cuius iure gentium more Macedonum, tuo etiam, ut ait, iudicio regnum est futurum, ego minor in eius quem occidissem 14 succederem locum. Quid ergo illa sibi vult pars altera orationis, qua Romanos a me cultos ait atque 15 eorum fiducia in spem regni me venisse? Nam si et in Romanis tantum momenti credebam esse ut quem vellent imponerent Macedoniae regem, et meae tantum apud eos gratiae confidebam, quid opus 16 parricidio fuit? An ut cruentum diadema fraterna caede gererem? Ut illis ipsis, apud quos aut vera aut certe simulata probitate partam gratiam habeo,

[1] me ante *Madvig*: meae ante me *M*: me ς.
[2] hac *Weissenborn*: ac $M\varsigma$.
[3] quaereretur *Madvig, ex codd., alius aliud.*
[4] ego ς: ego ipse *M*.

[1] The remarkable feature of Perseus' hatred for Demetrius appears to be its groundlessness, as Demetrius interprets the facts.

Romans and other enemies of my father, you should B.C. 183 not have waited for the drama of last night, but should long before have impeached me for treason: but if, when this recent episode was left out of account, that former accusation was baseless and was likely to prove your ill-will toward me rather than my guilt, you should either have omitted it to-day also or have postponed it to another occasion, so that the question might be investigated independently as to whether I had plotted against you or you against me, employing indeed a new and remarkable form of hatred.[1] I, nevertheless, so far as I shall be able in this unexpected confusion, shall take apart those things which you have made into one and shall reveal last night's plot, whether yours or mine. Perseus wishes it to appear that I had formed a conspiracy to kill him, with the apparent design that after removing my elder brother, to whom the throne was destined to come by the law of nations, by the custom of the Macedonians, and also (so he says) by your decision, I, the younger, might succeed to the place of him whom I had killed. What, then, does that second part of his speech mean, in which he asserts that I have paid court to the Romans and have formed hopes for the throne through reliance on them? For if I thought that the Romans possessed so much influence that they could make whomever they chose king of Macedonia, and if, moreover, I trusted that my influence with them was so strong, what need was there of murder? Was it in order that I might wear a crown besprinkled with a brother's blood? In order that to those very people among whom I have influence, if I have any, gained by an integrity which is either real or at least assumed,

A.U.C. 572

si quam forte habeo, execrabilis et invisus essem?
17 Nisi T. Quinctium credis, cuius nutu[1] et consiliis me[2] nunc arguis regi, cum et ipse tali pietate vivat cum fratre, mihi fraternae caedis fuisse auctorem.
18 Idem non Romanorum gratiam solum, sed Macedonum iudicia ac paene omnium deorum hominumque consensum collegit, per quae omnia se mihi
19 parem in certamine non futurum crediderit: idem, tamquam aliis[3] omnibus rebus inferior essem, ad sceleris ultimam spem confugisse me insimulat.[4]
20 Vis hanc formulam cognitionis esse ut, uter timuerit ne alter dignior videretur regno is consilium opprimendi fratris iudicetur cepisse?

XIII. "Exsequamur tamen quocumque modo conficti ordinem criminis. Pluribus modis se petitum criminatus est, et omnes insidiarum vias in unum
2 diem contulit. Volui interdiu eum post lustrationem, cum concurrimus, et quidem, si diis placet, lustrationum die occidere; volui, cum ad cenam invitavi, veneno scilicet tollere; volui, cum comisatum gladiis succincti[5] me secuti sunt, ferro inter-
3 ficere. Tempora quidem qualia sint ad parricidium electa vides: lusus, convivii, comisationis. Quid? Dies qualis? Quo lustratus exercitus, quo inter

[1] nutu *Doering*: virtute ς.
[2] me *ed. Parisina* 1513: mea ς.
[3] aliis *Gronovius*: in aliis ς.
[4] insimulat *edd. vett.*: insimulas ς.
[5] succincti *Drakenborch*: accincti *M*: cincti ς.

[1] Perseus, he says, argues inconsistently, first, that my case is so strong that the throne is practically assured to me; second, that my case is so weak that I can attain the throne

I might be the object of execration and hatred? B.C. 182
Unless you think that Titus Quinctius, by whose nod and advice you now accuse me of being ruled, although he himself lives on such terms of devotion with his brother, has counselled me to murder my brother. This same brother of mine has adduced, not only my influence with the Romans, but also the opinions of the Macedonians and the agreement, almost, of all gods and men, and by reason of all these things he believed that he would not be equal to me in a contest: at the same time, as if I were inferior in everything else, he charges that I have fled to the last refuge of crime.[1] Do you wish, Perseus, the rule to be applied to the investigation, that whichever of us fears that the other might seem more worthy of the kingship should be judged to have formed the plan of killing his brother?

XIII. "Let us, however, follow out the details of this charge, in whatever way it was concocted. His charge is that he was attacked in many ways, and he has brought together all these methods of attack into a single day. I wished to slay him by day, after the purification, when we clashed, and more than that (heaven help us!) on the day of purifications; I wished to kill him, I suppose by poison, when I invited him to dinner; I wished, when men armed with swords attended me on my revels, to kill him with the steel. You see, indeed, what sorts of occasions are selected for this murder: times of sport, of feasting, of revelry. Well, what sort of day was it? The day when the army was purified, when

only by killing him. Demetrius is discussing the general charge of treason as distinguished from the specific charge based on the affair of the night before.

A.U.C. 572

divisam victimam, praelatis omnium, qui umquam fuere, Macedoniae regum armis regiis, duo soli tua tegentes latera,[1] pater, praevecti sumus, et secutum
4 est Macedonum agmen: hoc ego, etiam si quid antea admisissem piaculo dignum, lustratus et expiatus sacro, tum cum maxime in hostiam itineri nostro circumdatam intuens, parricidium venena gladios in comisationem praeparatos volutabam in animo, ut quibus aliis deinde sacris contaminatam
5 omni scelere mentem[2] expiarem? Sed caecus criminandi cupiditate animus, dum omnia suspecta
6 efficere vult, aliud alio confundit. Nam si veneno te inter cenam tollere volui, quid minus aptum fuit quam pertinaci certamine et concursu iratum te efficere, ut merito, sicut fecisti, invitatus ad cenam
7 abnueres? Cum autem iratus negasses, utrum ut placarem te danda opera fuit, ut aliam quaererem
8 occasionem, quoniam semel venenum paraveram, an ab illo consilio velut transiliendum ad aliud fuit, ut ferro te, et quidem eodem die,[3] per speciem comisa-
9 tionis occiderem? Quo deinde modo, si te metu mortis credebam cenam vitasse meam, non ab eodem metu comisationem quoque vitaturum existimabam?

XIV. "Non est res qua erubescam, pater, si die
2 festo inter aequales largiore vino sum usus. Tu

[1] soli tua tegentes latera *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: solito more gentis latera ς.
[2] mentem *ed. Vascosana*: gentem ς.
[3] eodem die *Madvig*: eo die *M*: eo ς.

between the parts of the divided victim, with the B.C. 182 royal arms of all the kings who have ever ruled in Macedonia borne before us, we two alone, riding at your side, father, led the way and the host of the Macedonians followed: on this day, even if I had previously committed some act demanding atonement, was I, purified and with atonement made by the rite, at the very time when I could see the sacrificial victim lying on either side of our line of march, was I, I say, then revolving in my mind murder, poisons, swords made ready for the revels—that I might find in what other rites expiation for a conscience stained with every crime? But a mind blinded by the desire to find grounds for accusation, while it tries to make everything seem suspicious, confuses one thing with another. For, Perseus, if I wished to kill you with poison at the dinner, what was less suitable than by a stubborn contest and clash to make you angry, so that you would justly refuse, as you did, to come when I invited you to dinner? But when you had in your anger refused, which should I have done? Should I have tried every means to appease you, that I might find another opportunity, since I had the poison once made ready? Or should I leap, so to speak, from that plan straight to another, namely, to kill you with a sword, and on that very same day, under the pretence of a revel? Further, on what line of reasoning, if I believed that it was from fear of death that you avoided my dinner, could I think that after that you would not from the same fear avoid my revel also?

XIV. "There is no reason, father, why I should blush if, on a day of feasting with companions of my own age I indulged too lavishly in wine. Even you,

A.U.C. 572

quoque velim inquiras qua laetitia, quo lusu apud me celebratum hesternum convivium sit, illo etiam—pravo forsitan—gaudio [1] provehente, quod in iuvenali armorum certamine pars nostra non inferior fuerat. 3 Miseria haec et metus crapulam facile excusserunt; quae si non intervenissent, insidiatores nos sopiti 4 iaceremus. Si domum tuam expugnaturus, capta domo dominum interfecturus eram, non temperassem vino in unum diem, non milites meos abstinuissem? 5 Et ne ego me solus nimia simplicitate tuear, ipse quoque minime malus ac suspicax frater 'nihil aliud scio,' inquit 'nihil [2] arguo, nisi quod cum ferro 6 comisatum venerunt.' Si quaeram unde id ipsum scias,[3] necesse erit te fateri [4] aut speculatorum tuorum plenam domum fuisse meam, aut illos ita aperte 7 sumpsisse ferrum ut omnes viderent. Et ne quid ipse aut prius inquisisse aut nunc criminose argumentari videretur, te quaerere ex iis quos nominasset iubebat an ferrum habuissent, ut, tamquam in re dubia, cum id quaesisses, quod ipsi fatentur, pro 8 convictis haberentur. Quin tu illud quaeri iubes, num tui occidendi causa ferrum sumpserint, num me auctore et sciente? Hoc enim videri vis, non illud quod fatentur et palam est. Et [5] sui se tuendi causa 9 sumpsisse dicunt. Recte an perperam fecerint,

[1] gaudio *Gelenius*: odio *M*ς.
[2] nihil *ed. Frobeniana*: neque ς.
[3] scias ς: sciam *M*.
[4] te fateri *Gelenius*: *om.* ς.
[5] ei *Madvig*: et ς.

[1] Demetrius has been perfectly frank in admitting his state the previous evening; Perseus, he says, has outdone even Demetrius in candour by reducing his charges to the quotation that follows, but the complete meaning of *nimia simplicitate* is obscured by the appropriateness of the phrase as a characterization of Demetrius.

brother, I should like to have you ask with what B.C. 182 rejoicing, with what merriment last night's banquet was conducted at my house, heightened, too, by our delight—base, perhaps—in the fact that in the youthful contest of arms our side had not been inferior. My present wretchedness and fear easily shook off my drunken stupor; had it not been for them, we 'plotters' would now be lying asleep. If I had intended to take your house by storm and having taken it to put its owner to death, should I not have refrained from wine for one day and caused my soldiers to abstain? And, that I may not be the only one to defend myself on the basis of too much simplicity,[1] even that brother of mine, utterly innocent and unsuspecting, no doubt, says, 'I know nothing else, I make no charge, except that they came to their revels armed.' If I should ask how you know even that, you must needs confess either that my house was full of your spies or that they took up their weapons so openly that all men saw them. And, father, lest he himself might appear either to have made some previous inquiry or now to be making calumnious charges, he bade you ask of those whom he should name whether they had had weapons, in order that, as if it were a case admitting doubt, when you had asked about a thing they admit, they might be held as convicted. Why do you not, Perseus, bid him to ask these questions also—whether they had armed themselves for the purpose of killing you, whether it was at my suggestion and with my knowledge? For you wish one thing to be supposed, while what they confess and what is manifest is another. They say that they armed themselves in self-defence. Whether they acted rightly or wrongly

A.U.C. 572

ipsi sui facti rationem reddent: meam causam, quae nihil eo facto contingitur, ne miscueris. Aut explica utrum aperte an clam te aggressuri fuerimus. Si
10 aperte, cur non omnes ferrum habuimus? Cur nemo praeter eos qui tuum[1] speculatorem pulsa-
11 verunt? Si clam, quis ordo consilii fuit? Convivio soluto cum comisator ego discessissem, quattuor substitissent ut sopitum te adgrederentur? Quomodo fefellissent et alieni et mei et maxime suspecti, quia paulo ante in rixa fuerant? Quomodo autem trucidato te ipsi evasuri fuerunt?[2] Quattuor gladiis domus tua capi et expugnari potuit?

XV. "Quin tu omissa ista nocturna fabula ad id,
2 quod doles, quod invidia urit, reverteris? 'Cur usquam regni tui mentio fit, Demetri? Cur dignior patris fortunae successor quibusdam videris quam ego? Cur spem meam, quae, si tu non esses, certa erat,
3 dubiam et sollicitam facis?' Haec sentit Perseus, etsi non dicit; haec istum inimicum, haec accusatorem faciunt; haec domum, haec regnum tuum
4 criminibus et suspicionibus replent. Ego autem, pater, quem admodum nec nunc sperare regnum nec ambigere umquam de eo forsitan debeam, quia minor sum, quia tu me maiori cedere vis, sic illud nec debui facere nec debeo, ut indignus te patre indignus
5 omnibus videar. Id enim vitiis meis, non cedendi

[1] tuum : tum *M*ς.
[2] fuerunt *Bauer* : fuerint ς.

they will themselves give account of their own B.C. 182
actions: do not confuse their case with mine, which has nothing to do with that affair. Or tell us, Perseus, whether we purposed to attack you openly or secretly. If openly, why were not all of us armed? Why was no one armed except those who had beaten your spy? If secretly, what was the plan of campaign? When the banquet was over and I had departed on my revels, would the four have stayed behind to fall upon you in your sleep? How would they have passed unnoticed, being strangers and my friends, and under suspicion especially because a little while before they had been involved in the quarrel? How, again, had they planned to escape after killing you? Could your house have been taken and captured by four swords?

XV. "Why do you not, dropping that fairy-tale of last night, come back to that which irks you and causes you to burn with jealousy? 'Why in the world, Demetrius,' you ask, 'do people ever talk of your becoming king? Why do some regard you as a worthier successor to our father's fortune than I? Why do you cause my hopes, which would be sure if you were not here, to be uncertain and confused?' This is what Perseus thinks, even if he does not say it; these are the thoughts that make him my enemy and my accuser, and that fill your home and your kingdom with charges and suspicions. But I, father, as it may perhaps be my duty neither now to hope for the kingship nor ever to raise the question of it, since I am the younger, since you wish me to make way for the elder, so it neither was nor is my duty to seem unworthy of you my father, unworthy of all men. For this position I should attain by vices, not by

A.U.C. 572

cui ius fasque[1] est, modestia consequar. Romanos obicis mihi, et ea quae gloriae esse debent in crimen
6 vertis. Ego nec obses Romanis ut traderer nec ut legatus mitterer Romam[2] petii. A te[3] missus ire non recusavi. Utroque tempore ita me gessi ne tibi pudori, ne regno tuo, ne genti Macedonum essem.
7 Itaque mihi cum Romanis, pater, amicitiae causa tu fuisti. Quoad tecum illis pax manebit, mecum quoque gratia erit: si bellum esse coeperit, qui obses, qui legatus pro patre non inutilis fui, idem hostis
8 illis acerrimus ero. Nec hodie ut prosit mihi gratia Romanorum postulo: ne obsit tantum deprecor. Nec in bello coepit nec ad bellum reservatur:[4] pacis pignus fui, ad pacem retinendam legatus missus sum:
9 neutra res mihi nec gloriae nec crimini sit. Ego si quid impie in te, pater, si quid scelerate in fratrem admisi, nullam deprecor poenam: si innocens sum, ne invidia conflagrem,[5] cum crimine non possim,
10 deprecor. Non hodie me primum frater accusat, sed hodie primum aperte, nullo meo[6] in se merito. Si mihi pater suscenseret, te maiorem fratrem pro minore deprecari oportebat, te adulescentiae, te errori veniam impetrare meo. Ubi praesidium esse
11 oportebat, ibi exitium est. E convivio et comisatione prope semisomnus raptus sum ad causam parricidii

[1] cui iusque fasque *edd. vett.*: cuius fasque ς.
[2] mitterer Romam *Gelenius*: romam mitterer ς.
[3] petii; a te *Gelenius*: a te petii ς.
[4] reservatur *ed. Frobeniana*: reseruetur *M*ς.
[5] conflagrem ς: conflarem *M*.
[6] meo *Madvig*: in eo ς.

[1] For the language, cf. XXXIX. vi. 4.

modesty in making way for one to whom it is right B.C. 182
and just that I should yield. You cast the Romans in my face, and things which should be a source of pride you turn into charges against me. I did not ask either that I be given as a hostage to the Romans or sent as an ambassador to Rome. When sent by you, father, I did not refuse to go. On both occasions I so conducted myself as to bring no shame to you, your kingdom, or the Macedonian people. And so, father, you were the cause of my friendship with the Romans. So long as the peace shall endure between you and them, so long will the friendship between me and them endure: if war shall break out, I, who have not been without usefulness as a hostage and an ambassador for my father, shall likewise be their bitterest foe. I do not ask that my friendship with the Romans shall help me to-day: I beg merely that it shall not hinder me. It did not begin in war and is not reserved for war: I was a pledge of peace, I was sent as an envoy to maintain the peace: let neither bring me either praise or blame. If I have done anything unfilial to you, father, or criminal to my brother, I object to no punishment: if I am innocent, I beg that jealousy may not consume me,[1] since guilt cannot. To-day is not the first time my brother has accused me, but to-day for the first time he accuses me openly, with no act of mine to justify him. If my father were angry at me, your duty, as my older brother, would be to intercede for the younger, to win forgiveness for my youth and my mistake. Where there should have been protection there is deadly peril. From the banquet and the revel, still half-asleep, I was hurried away to plead my defence on the charge of murder.

A.U.C. 572

dicendam. Sine advocatis, sine patronis ipse pro
12 me dicere cogor. Si pro alio dicendum esset, tempus ad meditandum et componendam orationem sumpsissem, cum quid aliud quam ingenii fama periclitarer? Ignarus quid arcessitus essem, te iratum et iubentem dicere causam, fratrem accusantem audivi.
13 Ille diu ante praeparata ac meditata [1] in me oratione est usus: ego id tantum temporis, quo accusatus
14 sum, ad cognoscendum quid ageretur habui. Utrum momento illo horae accusatorem audirem an defensionem meditarer? Attonitus repentino atque inopinato malo, vix quid obiceretur intellegere potui,
15 nedum satis sciam quo modo me tuear. Quid mihi spei esset, nisi patrem iudicem haberem? Apud quem etiam si caritate a fratre maiore [2] vincor,
16 misericoridia certe reus vinci non debeo. Ego enim ut me mihi tibique serves precor; ille ut me in securitatem suam occidas, postulat. Quid eum, cum regnum ei tradideris, facturum credis in me esse, qui iam nunc sanguinem meum sibi indulgeri aequum censet?"

XVI. Dicenti haec lacrimae simul spiritum et vocem intercluserunt. Philippus summotis iis paul-
2 isper collocutus cum amicis pronuntiavit, non verbis

[1] ac *Weissenborn*: *om.* ς.
[2] caritate a fratre maiore *Gelenius*: a fratre maiore *M*: a fratre caritate ς.

[1] The series of speeches may have had some immediate basis in Polybius. More important, probably, in their influence on them are Livy's rhetorical interest and training, the characterizations previously given the speakers, and the function of the speeches in the dramatic action. The speech of Demetrius presents a peculiarly difficult rhetorical problem,

Without advisors, without counsel, I am compelled B.C. 182
to speak on my own behalf. If I had had to speak for another, I should have taken time to prepare and arrange my speech, and then what else would be at stake except my reputation for ability? While still in ignorance of the reason for my summons, I have listened to you in your anger ordering me to defend myself and my brother bringing charges against me. He employed against me a speech arranged and rehearsed long in advance: I had only the time during which I was accused to find out what was at issue. Should I in that brief space of time have listened to my accuser or planned my defence? Stricken by this sudden and unexpected calamity, I could scarce understand what charges were brought against me, to say nothing of knowing how to defend myself. What hope should I have were my father not the judge? If his love for me is less than for my elder brother, certainly his pity ought not to be less for me on my trial. For my prayer is that you will preserve me for myself and you; his demand is that you kill me for his security. What, father, do you think will become of me when you have turned the kingdom over to him, when even now he thinks it proper that he be gratified by my death?"[1]

XVI. As he spoke thus, tears at once stopped his breath and choked his utterance. Philip, sending them away, after conferring for some time with his

since Livy had the task of composing a plausible speech for a young man just awakened from sleep and not too clever as an extemporaneous speaker under less trying circumstances. Its incoherent structure and desperate efforts to preserve a logical arrangement therefore add realism, if nothing else.

A.U.C. 572

se nec unius horae disceptatione causam eorum diiudicaturum, sed inquirendo in utriusque vitam ac
3 mores,[1] et dicta factaque in magnis parvisque rebus observando, ut omnibus appareret noctis proximae crimen facile revictum, suspectam nimiam [2] cum Romanis Demetrii gratiam esse. Haec maxime vivo Philippo velut semina iacta sunt Macedonici belli, quod cum Perseo gerendum erat.
4 Consules ambo in Ligures, quae tum una consularis provincia erat, proficiscuntur. Et quia prospere ibi res gesserunt, supplicatio in unum diem decreta est.
5 Ligurum duo milia fere ad extremum finem provinciae Galliae, ubi castra Marcellus habebat, venerunt uti reciperentur orantes. Marcellus opperiri eodem loco
6 Liguribus iussis senatum per litteras consuluit. Senatus rescribere M. Ogulnium praetorem Marcello iussit verius fuisse consules, quorum provincia esset, quam se quid e re publica esset decernere ; [3] tum quoque non placere nisi [4] per deditionem Ligures recipi, et receptis arma adimi atque eos ad consules [5] mitti senatum aequum censere.
7 Praetores eodem tempore, P. Manlius in ulteriorem Hispaniam, quam et priore praetura provinciam obti-

[1] ac mores *Duker* : mores ς.
[2] nimiam *edd. vett.* : nimium ς.
[3] quid—decernere *edd. vett.* : *om.* ς.
[4] nisi *Madvig* : si ς.
[5] consules *Glareanus* : consulem ς.

[1] No reason for this action on the part of the Ligurians is known, nor is it clear what relation to the Romans or to Marcellus they desired to obtain. Marcellus was himself uncertain about both questions, and I have tried to be equally non-committal in the translation.

friends, gave judgment that he would not decide B.C. 182
their case on the basis of words nor the discussion of a single hour, but after inquiring into the life and manners of each and observing their words and actions in matters great and small, so that it was clear to all that the accusation regarding the preceding night had been easily refuted, but that Demetrius was suspected by reason of his excessive popularity with the Romans. Such, in general, were the seeds, so to speak, of the Macedonian war which were sown while Philip was still alive, but the war for the most part was to be waged with Perseus.

Both consuls departed for the Ligurians, this being at the time the only consular province. And because their campaigns were successful there, a thanksgiving for one day was voted. About two thousand Ligurians came to the most remote boundary of the province of Gaul, where Marcellus was encamped, and asked that they be received under his protection.[1] Marcellus, ordering the Ligurians to wait in the same place, consulted the senate by letter. The senate directed Marcus Ogulnius the praetor to reply to Marcellus that it was more correct for the consuls, whose province it was, than for them, to decide what was to the advantage of the state; on this occasion, also, that it was not their pleasure that the Ligurians should be received except in surrender, that the senate deemed it just that, if received, their arms should be taken from them, and that the Ligurians should be sent to the consuls.[2]

At the same time the praetors Publius Manlius and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus arrived in their provinces, the former in Farther Spain, which province he had

[2] Both syntax and meaning are uncertain.

A.U.C. 572

nuerat, Q. Fulvius Flaccus in citeriorem pervenit, exercitumque ab A.[1] Terentio accepit: nam ulterior
8 morte P. Sempronii proconsulis sine imperio fuerat. Fulvium Flaccum oppidum Hispanum Urbicnam nomine oppugnantem Celtiberi adorti sunt. Dura ibi proelia aliquot facta, multi Romani milites et vulnerati et interfecti sunt. Vicit perseverantia Fulvius, quod nulla vi abstrahi ab obsidione potuit:
9 Celtiberi fessi proeliis variis abscesserunt. Urbs amoto auxilio eorum intra paucos dies capta et direpta est: praedam militibus praetor concessit.
10 Fulvius hoc oppido capto, Manlius exercitu tantum in unum coacto qui dissipatus fuerat, nulla alia memorabili gesta re, exercitus [2] in hiberna deduxe-
11 runt. Haec ea aestate in Hispania gesta. Terentius qui ex ea provincia decesserat ovans urbem iniit. Translatum argenti pondo novem milia trecenta viginti, auri octoginta pondo et duo, coronae aureae sexaginta septem.

XVII. Eodem anno inter populum Carthaginiensem et regem Masinissam in re praesenti
2 disceptatores Romani de agro fuerunt. Ceperat eum ab Carthaginiensibus pater Masinissae Gala; Galam Syphax inde expulerat, postea in gratiam soceri
3 Hasdrubalis Carthaginiensibus dono dederat; Carthaginienses eo anno Masinissa expulerat. Haud

[1] ab A. *Madvig*: a ς.
[2] exercitus ς: exercitum *M*.

[1] According to XXXIII. xliii. 5, Manlius was in Nearer Spain as an assistant to the consul. This, however, gave him a sort of roving commission, and he operated in Farther Spain as well (XXXIV. xvii. 1 and the note).

held in his first praetorship also,[1] the latter in Nearer B.C. 182
Spain, where he took over the army from Aulus Terentius: for the farther province had been without a governor since the death of Publius Sempronius the proconsul.[2] The Celtiberians attacked Fulvius Flaccus while he was besieging a Spanish town, Urbicna by name. A number of hard battles were fought there, and many Roman soldiers suffered wounds and death. Fulvius prevailed by stubbornness, since by no attack could he be drawn away from the siege: the Celtiberians, worn out by the repeated battles, withdrew. When their aid was lost, the city was within a few days captured and plundered; the praetor bestowed the booty upon the soldiers. Fulvius, after taking this town, retired into winter-quarters, and Manlius did the same, having merely collected into one place the army which had been scattered and having done nothing else worth mentioning. These were the events of this summer in Spain. Terentius, who had retired from that province, entered the City in ovation. In his procession he carried nine thousand three hundred and twenty pounds of silver, eighty-two pounds of gold and sixty-seven golden crowns.

XVII. In the same year Roman arbitrators who were on the ground took part in a dispute about land-ownership between the Carthaginian people and King Masinissa.[3] Gala, the father of Masinissa, had taken it from the Carthaginians; Syphax had driven Gala out of it and later, as a favour to his father-in-law Hasdrubal, had presented it as a gift to the Carthaginians; Masinissa had that year expelled the Carthaginians. The case was argued

[2] Cf. ii. 5 above. [3] Cf. XXXIV. lxii. 15.

A.U.C. 572

minore certamine animorum quam cum ferro et acie
4 dimicarunt res acta apud Romanos. Carthaginienses, quod maiorum suorum fuisset, deinde ab Syphace ad se pervenisset, repetebant. Masinissa paterni regni agrum se et recepisse et habere gentium iure aiebat;
5 et causa et possessione superiorem esse; nihil aliud se in ea disceptatione metuere quam ne pudor Romanorum, dum vereantur ne quid socio atque amico regi adversus communes suos atque illius hostes indulsisse videantur, damno sit. Legati
6 possessionis ius non mutarunt, causam integram[1] Romam ad senatum reiecerunt.

In Liguribus nihil postea gestum. Recesserant primum in devios saltus, deinde dimisso exercitu
7 passim in vicos castellaque sua dilapsi sunt. Consules quoque dimittere exercitum voluerunt, ac de ea re patres consuluerunt. Alterum ex iis dimisso exercitu ad magistratus in annum creandos venire Romam iusserunt, alterum cum legionibus suis Pisis hiemare.
8 Fama erat Gallos Transalpinos iuventutem armare, nec in quam regionem Italiae effusura se multitudo esset sciebatur. Ita inter se consules compararunt ut Cn. Baebius ad comitia iret, quia M. Baebius frater eius consulatum petebat.

[1] integram ς: in integrum *M*.

[1] The claim of Masinissa must have seemed weak to the commission, which however did not wish to offend him. The ultimate solution to the problem is not known.

[2] The usefulness of a consul under such circumstances had been demonstrated by the Claudii (XXXIX. xxxii. 13).

before the Romans with no less ardour of temper B.C. 182
than when they fought with arms in the line of battle. The Carthaginians were reclaiming it because it had belonged to their forefathers and had then come again to them from Syphax. Masinissa maintained, first that he had recovered land belonging to his father's kingdom and second, that he was holding it under the law of nations; he said that he had the advantage both of a good case and of actual possession; he was afraid of nothing else in the dispute except that a sense of shame on the part of the Romans, as they might be reluctant to give the appearance of having favoured an allied and friendly king as against the common enemy of themselves and him, might do him injury. The commissioners did not change the right of possession, but referred the case without prejudice to the senate.[1]

Among the Ligurians nothing more happened. They had in the beginning retired into out-of-the-way defiles, then disbanded their army and scattered everywhere to their own villages and strongholds. The consuls also wished to discharge their armies and consulted the senate on the matter. The Fathers directed that one of them should disband his army and come to Rome to conduct the election of magistrates for the coming year, and that the other with his legions should winter at Pisa. It was reported that the Transalpine Gauls were arming their young men and it was unknown into what part of Italy the multitude would pour. So the consuls arranged between themselves that Gnaeus Baebius should go to the elections because his brother Marcus Baebius was a candidate for the consulship.[2]

A.U.C. 572

XVIII. Comitia consulibus rogandis fuere: creati P. Cornelius Lentulus M. Baebius Tamphilus. 2 Praetores inde facti duo Q. Fabii, Maximus et Buteo, Ti.[1] Claudius Nero Q. Petilius Spurinus M. Pinarius Rusca[2] L. Duronius.

A.U.C. 573

3 His inito magistratu provinciae its sorte evenerunt: Ligures consulibus, praetoribus Q. Petilio urbana, Q. Fabio Maximo peregrina, Q. Fabio Buteoni Gallia, Ti.[1] Claudio Neroni Sicilia, M. Pinario 4 Sardinia, L. Duronio Apulia; et Histri adiecti, quod Tarentini Brundisinique nuntiabant maritimos agros infestos transmarinarum navium latrociniis esse. Eadem Massilienses de Ligurum navibus quere- 5 bantur. Exercitus inde decreti, quattuor legiones consulibus, quae[3] quina milia ducenos Romanos pedites, trecenos haberent equites, et quindecim milia socium ac Latini nominis, octingenti[4] equites. 6 In Hispaniis prorogatum veteribus praetoribus imperium est cum exercitibus quos haberent, et in supplementum decreta tria milia civium Romanorum, ducenti equites, et socium Latini nominis sex milia 7 peditum, trecenti equites. Nec rei navalis cura

[1] Ti. *Sigonius*: t. ς.
[2] Rusca *Wex*: pusca ς.
[3] quae *Gelenius*: *om.* ς.
[4] octingenti *Drakenborch*: octingentos ς.

[1] The Fasti give the *cognomen* as Cethegus.

[2] From xxvi. 2 below it appears that Buteo was in Histria, and from xlii. 1 below that Duronius was in Illyricum later. Livy may be mistaken, or this clause may be misplaced. Cf. Zippel, *Die roemische Herrschaft in Illyrium bis auf Augustus* (Leipzig, 1877), 81.

[3] As usual at the end of a war, the Romans had neglected the fleet after the defeat of Antiochus, and the ships had been docked. In the light of the information received, provision

XVIII. The election of consuls took place: the B.C. 182 successful candidates were Publius Cornelius Lentulus[1] and Marcus Baebius Tamphilus. Next the praetors were chosen, two named Quintus Fabius, Maximus and Buteo, Tiberius Claudius Nero, Quintus Petilius Spurinus, Marcus Pinarius Rusca, Lucius Duronius.

When they had been inaugurated, the provinces B.C. 181 were thus assigned in the drawing: the Ligurians to the consuls, to the praetors: the civil jurisdiction to Quintus Petilius, that between citizens and aliens to Quintus Fabius Maximus, Gaul to Quintus Fabius Buteo, Sicily to Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sardinia to Marcus Pinarius, Apulia to Lucius Duronius; the Histrians[2] were also added because the news had come from Tarentum and Brundisium that the lands along the coasts were endangered by piracy on the part of the ships from across the sea. The Massilians made the same complaint about the ships of the Ligurians. Then the armies were decreed—four legions for the consuls, each to consist of fifty-two hundred Roman infantry, and three hundred cavalry, and fifteen thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy. In the Spains the *imperium* of the old praetors was extended, with the armies which they had, and they decreed as reinforcements three thousand Roman citizens and two hundred cavalry and of the allies of the Latin confederacy six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. Nor was care for the fleet omitted.[3]

is now made for launching and manning them. While during the recent wars the fleets had been commanded by *legati* or by praetors, *duumviri navales*, magistrates chosen only for special occasions, are now named.

A.U.C. 573

omissa. Duumviros in eam rem consules creare iussi, per quos naves viginti deductae navalibus sociis civibus Romanis qui servitutem servissent complerentur, ingenui tantum ut iis praeessent. 8 Inter duumviros ita divisa tuenda denis navibus maritima ora, ut promunturium iis Minervae velut cardo in medio esset; alter inde [1] dextram partem usque ad Massiliam, laevam alter usque ad Barium tueretur.

XIX. Prodigia multa foeda et Romae eo anno visa 2 et nuntiata peregre. In area Vulcani et Concordiae sanguine pluvit; et pontifices hastas motas nuntiavere, et Lanuvini [2] simulacrum Iunonis Sospitae 3 lacrimasse. Pestilentia in agris forisque et conciliabulis et in urbe tanta erat ut Libitina funeribus [3] 4 vix sufficeret. His prodigiis cladibusque anxii patres decreverunt ut et consules quibus diis videretur hostiis maioribus sacrificarent, et decemviri libros 5 adirent. Eorum decreto supplicatio circa omnia pulvinaria Romae in diem unum indicta est. Isdem auctoribus et senatus censuit et consules edixerunt

[1] inde *Weissenborn*: in ς.
[2] Lanuvini *Luterbacher*: lanuuiis *et similia* ς.
[3] funeribus *H. J. Mueller*: *om.* ς.

[1] Roman citizens were not ordinarily assigned to duty at sea.
[2] Probably the cape of Sorrento, near Naples.
[3] Literally, the pivot or hinge (on which a door would swing), but, in surveying, a limiting boundary or reference point.
[4] The modern Bari, on the Adriatic.
[5] Cf. XXXIX. xlvi. 5; lvi. 6.

The consuls were directed to secure the election of a B.C. 181 board of two for this purpose, by whom twenty ships, launched from the yards, would be manned by Roman citizens who had been slaves, serving as marines,[1] employing free-born citizens only as commanders. The defence of the coast was divided between the duumvirs, ten ships being assigned to each, in such a way that the promontory of Minerva [2] was, so to speak, the joint [3] between them; thence one should defend the right sector as far as Massilia, the other the left as far as Barium.[4]

XIX. Many dreadful prodigies were both observed in Rome that year and reported from elsewhere. In the precinct of Vulcan and Concord [5] there was a shower of blood; and the pontiffs announced that the spears [6] had been shaken, and the people of Lanuvium sent word that the image of Juno Sospita had shed tears. The pestilence was so severe in the country and in the villages and rural communities and in the City that Libitina [7] could scarce take care of so many funerals. Being disturbed by these prodigies and deaths, the Fathers decreed, both that the consuls should sacrifice full-grown victims to whatever gods it seemed proper, and that the decemvirs should consult the Books.[8] According to their decree one day of prayer was proclaimed at all the banquet-tables of the gods [9] in Rome. On their suggestion also there was both a decree of the senate and an edict of the consuls that for three days

[6] They were probably the *hastae Martiae* at Rome (Gellius IV. vi. 1–2). There were similar spears at Praeneste (XXIV. x. 10).
[7] The goddess of funerals.
[8] The Sibylline Books (XXXI. xii. 9 and the note).
[9] Cf. XXXI. viii. 2 and the note.

A.U.C. 573

ut per totam Italiam triduum supplicatio et feriae
6 essent. Pestilentiae tanta vis erat ut, cum propter defectionem Corsorum bellumque ab Iliensibus concitatum in Sardinia octo milia peditum ex sociis Latini nominis placuisset scribi et trecentos equites, quos M. Pinarius praetor secum in Sardiniam traic-
7 eret, tantum hominum demortuum esse, tantum ubique aegrorum consules renuntiaverint ut is numerus
8 effici militum non potuerit. Quod deerat militum, sumere a Cn. Baebio proconsule, qui Pisis hibernabat, iussus praetor atque inde in Sardiniam traicere.

9 L. Duronio praetori, cui provincia Apulia evenerat, adiecta de Bacchanalibus quaestio est, cuius residua quaedam velut semina ex prioribus malis iam priore
10 anno apparuerant; sed magis inchoatae apud L.[1] Pupium praetorem quaestiones erant quam ad exitum ullum [2] perductae. Id persecare novum praetorem, ne serperet iterum latius, patres iusserunt. Et
11 legem [3] de ambitu consules ex auctoritate senatus ad populum tulerunt.

XX. Legationes deinde in senatum introduxerunt, regum primas [4] Eumenis et Ariarathis Cappadocis et Pharnacis Pontici. Nec ultra quicquam eis responsum est quam missuros qui de controversiis eorum

[1] L. *ed. Aldina* : t. *aut* ti. σ.
[2] ullum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : ullae σ.
[3] legem σ : leges *M*.
[4] primas σ : prima *M*.

[1] Cf. XXXIX. xli. 6.

[2] The last law to control bribery had been passed in 358 B.C. (VII. xv. 12). No special reason for a new law at this time is known, unless it was the vigorous campaign reported in XXXIX. xxxii. It is not certain whether one law or two passed at this time, and the only clause recorded fixes as the

throughout Italy there should be a supplication and B.C. 181
festival. The violence of the plague was so great that when, on account of a rising of the Corsicans and a revolt begun by the Ilienses in Sardinia, it was decided to enlist eight thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry among the allies of the Latin confederacy, whom Lucius Pinarius the praetor should take with him to Sardinia, the consuls reported that so many deaths had occurred among the men and so great was the number of sick that this number of troops could not be raised. The shortage in the number of troops the praetor was directed to make up from the army of Gnaeus Baebius the proconsul, who was wintering at Pisa, and thence to cross to Sardinia.

To Lucius Duronius, the praetor to whom the province of Apulia had been allotted, has also been assigned an investigation to the Bacchanalia, from which some seeds, as it were, left over from the earlier troubles, had already begun to show themselves in the previous year; but the inquiries had been begun before the praetor Lucius Pupius rather than brought to any conclusion.[1] The Fathers ordered the new praetor to extirpate the trouble, to prevent it from again secretly spreading furthur. Also the consuls, with the authority of the senate, brought before the people a law on bribery.[2]

XX. Then they introduced the embassies into the senate, first those of the kings, Eumenes, and Ariarathes of Cappadocia, and Pharnaces of Pontus. No further reply was given to them than that the senate would send men to investigate their differences and give

penalty disqualification for holding office for a period of ten years (*Scholia Bobiensia*, p. 361).

A.U.C. 573

2 cognoscerent statuerentque. Lacedaemoniorum deinde exulum et Achaeorum legati introducti sunt, et spes data exulibus est scripturum senatum Achaeis ut restituerentur. Achaei de Messene recepta compositisque ibi rebus cum adsensu patrum
3 exposuerunt. Et a Philippo rege Macedonum duo legati venerunt, Philocles et Apelles, nulla super re, quae petenda ab senatu esset, speculatum magis inquisitumque missi de iis, quorum Perseus Demetrium insimulasset sermonum cum Romanis, maxime cum T. Quinctio, adversus fratrem de regno habi-
4 torum. Hos tamquam medios nec in alterius favorem inclinatos miserat rex: erant autem et hi Persei fraudis in fratrem ministri et participes.

5 Demetrius omnium praeterquam fraterno scelere, quod nuper eruperat, ignarus primo neque magnam neque nullam spem habebat patrem sibi placari posse; minus deinde in dies patris animo fidebat,
6 cum obsideri aures a fratre cerneret. Itaque circumspiciens dicta factaque sua, ne cuius [1] suspiciones augeret, maxime ab omni mentione et contagione Romanorum abstinebat, ut neque scribi sibi vellet, quia hoc praecipue criminum genere exasperari patris animum sentiebat.

XXI. Philippus, simul ne otio miles deterior fieret, simul avertendae suspicionis causa quicquam a se

[1] ne cuius *edd. vett.*: nec (ne) huius ς.

[1] After the settlement effected in 183 B.C. (XXXIX. xlviii. 2–4) there had apparently been additional banishments of anti-Achaean elements in Lacedaemon.

[2] The apparent meaning is that Demetrius was unaware that his brother's intrigues had continued after their hearing before Philip.

judgment. Then the representatives of the Lace- B.C. 181
daemonian exiles and of the Achaeans were brought in, and hope was held out to the exiles that the senate would write to the Achaeans directing that they be restored.[1] The Achaeans explained to the satisfaction of the Fathers regarding the recovery of Messene and the solution of the problems there. Philip, king of the Macedonians, also sent two envoys, Philocles and Apelles, with no particular request to make of the senate, but rather to collect information and make inquiry about those conversations which Perseus had accused Demetrius of holding with the Romans and specifically with Titus Quinctius about the kingship which were prejudicial to the interests of his brother. These envoys the king had sent as neutral and not predisposed to favour either disputant: but as matters turned out they also were servants and helpers of Perseus in his treachery toward his brother.

Demetrius, at first ignorant of everything, except what had been revealed by his brother's wickedness, had no great hope but was not altogether without hope that his father could be appeased;[2] he trusted less every day to his father's intentions, since he perceived that his father's attention was engrossed by his brother. And so, reflecting carefully on everything he said or did, lest he increase the suspicions of anyone, he refrained particularly from all reference to or contact with the Romans, to such a degree that he did not even want them to write to him, because he knew that his father's mind was especially irritated by charges of this kind.

XXI. Philip, in order partly to prevent his troops from growing slack through idleness, partly to avert

A.U.C. 573

agitari de Romano bello, Stobos Paeoniae exercitu
2 indicto in Maedicam [1] ducere pergit. Cupido eum
ceperat in verticem [2] Haemi montis ascendendi, quia
volgatae opinioni crediderat Ponticum simul et
Hadriaticum mare et Histrum amnem et Alpes
conspici posse: subiecta oculis ea haud parvi sibi
momenti futura ad cogitationem Romani belli.
3 Percunctatus regionis peritos de ascensu Haemi, cum
satis inter omnes constaret viam exercitui nullam
4 esse, paucis et expeditis per difficillimum aditum, ut
sermone familiari minorem filium permulceret, quem
statuerat non ducere secum, primum quaerit ab eo,
cum tanta difficultas itineris proponatur, utrum
5 perseverandum sit in incepto an abstinendum. Si
pergat tamen ire, non posse oblivisci se in talibus
rebus Antigoni, qui saeva tempestate iactatus, cum [3]
in eadem nave secum suos omnes habuisset, prae-
cepisse liberis diceretur ut et ipsi meminissent et ita
posteris proderent, ne quis cum tota gente simul in
6 rebus dubiis periclitari auderet. Memorem ergo se
praecepti eius duos simul filios non commissurum in
aleam eius qui proponeretur casus; et quoniam
maiorem filium secum duceret, minorem ad subsidia [4]
spei et custodiam regni remissurum in Macedoniam
7 esse. Non fallebat Demetrium ablegari se ne adesset

[1] Maedicam *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : macedoniam ς.
[2] verticem *ed. Parisina* 1513 : uertice ς.
[3] cum *edd. vett.* : *om. aut post* naue *coll.* ς.
[4] subsidia ς : subsidium *M*.

[1] Perhaps the general of Alexander the Great; if so, a remote ancestor of Philip.

suspicion that he was thinking at all about a war B.C. 181
with Rome, summoned his army to Stobi in Paeonia
and began to lead it into Maedica. The desire had
seized him of climbing to the top of the Haemus
mountains, because he had accepted the common
opinion that from there could be seen all at once the
Pontic and Adriatic seas, the Hister river and the
Alps. To have these spread out before his eyes
would have, he thought, no small weight in deter-
mining his strategy in a war with Rome. Having
questioned men who knew the country about the
ascent of the Haemus, since it was generally agreed
by all that there was no way for an army, but that
with a few light troops it could be climbed by a very
difficult road, wishing to console his younger son by
an intimate talk (he had decided not to take him
with him), he first asked him whether, since the
difficulty of the journey was so great, he should
persist in the plan or abandon it. If after all he
should decide to go, he could not forget, in such a
situation, Antigonus,[1] who, when tossed about by a
dreadful storm, at a time when he had all his family
in the same ship with him, was said to have given
his children the warning, which they should both
remember for themselves and pass on to their
children, that no man should venture to endanger
himself and his whole house at once in a doubtful
situation. Therefore, he said, remembering that
precept, he would not expose both his sons at once
to the chance of disaster which confronted them;
and since he was taking his older son with him, he
intended to send the younger back to Macedonia to
furnish some support to his hopes and for the future
to guard the kingdom. Demetrius did not fail to

A.U.C. 573

consilio, cum in conspectu locorum consultarent, quae proxime itinera ad mare Hadriaticum atque Italiam
8 ducerent, quaeque ratio belli esset futura. Sed non solum parendum patri [1] sed etiam adsentiendum erat,
9 ne invitum parere suspicionem faceret. Ut tamen iter ei tutum in Macedoniam esset, Didas ex praetoribus regiis [2] unus, qui Paeoniae praeerat, iussus
10 est prosequi eum cum modico praesidio. Hunc quoque Perseus, sicut plerosque patris amicorum, ex quo haud cuiquam dubium esse coeperat, ad quem regis animo ita inclinato hereditas regni pertineret,
11 inter coniuratos in fratris perniciem habuit. In praesentia dat ei mandata ut per omne obsequium insinuaret se in quam maxime familiarem usum, ut elicere omnia arcana specularique abditos eius sensus posset. Ita digreditur Demetrius cum infestioribus quam si solus iret praesidiis.

XXII. Philippus Maedicam primum, deinde solitudines interiacentes Maedicae atque Haemo transgressus septimis demum castris ad radices montis pervenit. Ibi unum moratus diem ad deligendos quos duceret secum, tertio die iter est ingressus.
2 Modicus primo labor in imis collibus fuit. Quantum in altitudinem egrediebantur, magis magisque silvestria et pleraque invia loca excipiebant: perve-
3 nere deinde in tam opacum iter ut prae densitate

[1] patri *Weissenborn*: patri tutum ς.
[2] regiis *ed. Aldina*: regis ς.

[1] The usual title used by Livy, though especially in military expressions, is *praefectus*. The term *praetor* is of course good Roman usage for a provincial governor.
[2] The day of arrival (the seventh of the march) and the day of rest are the first and second days.

perceive that he was being banished, in order that B.C. 181 he might not be present at the council when the decision would be reached, in sight of the theatre of operations, what routes would lead most directly to the Adriatic sea and to Italy, and what would be the general strategy of the war. But he had not merely to obey his father but to agree with him, lest he should beget suspicion that he was obeying unwillingly. Nevertheless, in order that he might have a safe journey into Macedonia, Didas, one of the king's generals,[1] who was in charge of Paeonia, was ordered to escort him with a moderately large guard. Didas too, like most of the friends of the king, from the time when it began to be clear to everyone to whom, since the king's mind inclined that way, the inheritance of the kingdom would fall, Perseus had associated with the conspiracy for his brother's ruin. For the present, he instructed Didas to make for himself, by every form of attention, a place among the intimates of Demetrius, that he might be able to get from him all his secrets and to spy upon his inmost thoughts. Thus Demetrius departed, accompanied by guards whose presence was more dangerous than if he had been travelling alone.

XXII. Philip, crossing Maedica first and then the waste lands lying between Maedica and the Haemus, on the seventh march at last came to the foot of the mountain. There he delayed for a day to choose the men whom he should take with him and on the third [2] day began his journey. At first there was moderate exertion in the foothills. The farther up they went, they found more and more ground that was wooded and often impassable: at last they came to a trail so shaded that by reason of the thickness

A.U.C. 573

arborum immissorumque aliorum in alios ramorum perspici caelum vix posset. Ut vero iugis appropinquabant, quod rarum in altis[1] locis est,[2] adeo omnia contecta nebula erant,[3] ut haud secus quam nocturno itinere impedirentur. Tertio demum die ad verticem perventum. Nihil volgatae opinioni degressi inde detraxerunt, magis credo, ne vanitas itineris ludibrio esset, quam quod diversa inter se maria montesque et amnes ex uno loco conspici potuerint. Vexati omnes, et ante alios rex ipse, quo gravior aetate erat, difficultate viae est. Duabus aris ibi Iovi et Soli sacratis cum immolasset, qua triduo ascenderat, biduo est degressus, frigora nocturna maxime metuens, quae caniculae ortu similia brumalibus erant. Multis per eos dies difficultatibus conflictatus nihilo laetiora in castris invenit, ubi summa penuria erat, ut in regione quam ab omni parte solitudines clauderent. Itaque unum tantum moratus diem quietis eorum causa quos habuerat secum, itinere inde simili fugae in Dentheletos transcurrit. Socii erant, sed propter inopiam haud secus quam hostium fines Macedones populati sunt: rapiendo enim

[1] altis *Madvig*: aliis ζ.
[2] est *Madvig*: esset ζ.
[3] erant *Weissenborn*: *om.* ζ.

[1] The exact situation of this summit (now part of the Great Balkan) cannot be determined, but since it was in Western Thrace or Eastern Macedonia the idea that the Adriatic could be seen from there is absurd. Mela (II. ii. 17), however, says that both seas are visible, and Strabo (VII. v. 1) quotes Polybius to the same effect, but adds that he was mistaken, since the distance was great and there were many intervening objects to obstruct the view.

[2] This star rose about mid-July (Pliny *H. N.* II. 123).

of the trees and the branches interlaced with one another it was barely possible to see the sky. But when they drew near the crest everything was so covered with fog, which is rare in high places, that they were retarded just as if they were marching by night. At last on the third day they came to the summit.[1] When they descended they did nothing to detract from the common opinion, rather, I suppose, to prevent the futility of the journey from becoming a subject of jest than because the different seas and mountains and rivers could be seen from one place. All were in distress and most of all the king himself, because he was more heavily burdened by age, as a result of the difficulty of the way. When he had sacrificed at the two altars dedicated there to Jupiter and the Sun, he made in two days the descent which had required three for the ascent, fearing most the nightly colds, which, at the time of the rising of the dog-star,[2] were like those of winter.[3] After struggling with many hardships during those days, he found things no easier in camp, where the need was very great, as was to be expected in a country surrounded by deserts on all sides. And so, delaying only one day, in order to rest the men whom he had taken with him, he hurried, in a march that resembled a flight, into the country of the Dentheleti. They were allies, but on account of their need the Macedonians pillaged them just as if theirs were hostile territory: in their plundering

B.C. 181

[3] Conceiving of the career of Philip in tragic form again, one may regard this episode as the climax of Philip's folly thus far, or perhaps as a comic interlude to relieve the tragedy. It should be noted that it begins and ends with intimations of the approaching doom of Demetrius.

A.U.C. 573

passim villas [1] primum, dein quosdam etiam vicos evastarunt, non sine magno pudore regis, cum sociorum voces nequiquam deos sociales nomenque
12 suum implorantes audiret. Frumento inde sublato in Maedicam regressus, urbem quam Petram appel-
13 lant oppugnare est adortus. Ipse a campestri aditu castra posuit, Perseum filium cum modica manu circummisit, ut a superioribus locis urbem aggre-
14 deretur. Oppidani, cum terror undique instaret, obsidibus datis in praesentia dediderunt sese: iidem, postquam exercitus recessit, obliti obsidum relicta urbe in loca munita et montes refugerunt.

15 Philippus omni genere laboris sine ullo effectu fatigatis militibus et fraude Didae praetoris auctis in filium suspicionibus in Macedoniam rediit.

XXIII. Missus hic comes, ut ante dictum est, cum simplicitatem iuvenis incauti et suis haud immerito suscensentis assentando indignandoque et ipse vicem eius captaret, in omnia ultro suam offerens operam,
2 fide data arcana eius elicuit. Fugam ad Romanos Demetrius meditabatur; cui consilio adiutor deum beneficio oblatus videbatur Paeoniae praetor, per cuius provinciam spem ceperat elabi tuto posse.
3 Hoc consilium extemplo et fratri proditur et auctore
4 eo indicatur patri. Litterae primum ad obsidentem

[1] uillas σ : per uillas *M*.

[1] Paeonia extended as far west as Illyricum.

they first laid waste the farm-houses far and wide, B.C. 181 then even certain villages, not without great shame on the king's part, when he heard the voices of his allies calling in vain upon the gods who protect alliances and upon his own name. Carrying off the grain from there and returning to Maedica, he began to attack a city which they call Petra. He himself encamped on the approach from the plain and sent his son Perseus around with a force of moderate size to attack the city from the higher ground. The citizens, since danger threatened them from every quarter, gave hostages and surrendered for the time being: but none the less, after the army retired, forgetting the hostages they abandoned the city and fled to the fortified places and the mountains.

Philip, having wearied his troops with every sort of toil without having attained any result, and with his suspicions of his son increased because of the deceit of Didas, the general, returned to Macedonia.

XXIII. Didas, as has been said before, had been sent as escort to Demetrius, and when he had entrapped the ingenuous young man, who was off his guard and not unjustly angry at his relatives, by flattering him and expressing indignation at his lot, volunteering his assistance in every respect, under pledge of loyalty Didas extracted all his secrets. Demetrius was planning flight to the Romans; and it looked as if, by the grace of the gods, an assistant in this plan had been provided in the person of the governor of Paeonia, through whose province he had come to hope that he could safely escape.[1] This plan was at once both revealed to his brother and reported to his father on his brother's authority. At first a letter was brought to

A.U.C. 573

Petram adlatae sunt. Inde Herodorus—princeps hic amicorum Demetrii erat—in custodiam est coniectus et Demetrius dissimulanter adservari
5 iussus. Haec super cetera tristem adventum in Macedoniam regi fecerunt. Movebant eum et praesentia crimina: expectandos tamen, quos ad
6 exploranda omnia Romam miserat censebat. His anxius curis cum aliquot menses egisset, tandem legati, iam ante praemeditati in Macedonia quae ab
7 Roma renuntiarent, venerunt; qui super cetera scelera falsas etiam litteras, signo adulterino T.
8 Quinctii signatas, reddiderunt regi. Deprecatio in litteris erat si quid adulescens cupiditate regni prolapsus secum egisset: nihil eum adversus suorum quemquam facturum neque eum se esse [1] qui ullius
9 impii consilii auctor futurus videri possit. Hae litterae fidem Persei criminibus fecerunt. Itaque Herodorus extemplo diu excruciatus sine indicio rei ullius in tormentis moritur.

XXIV. Demetrium iterum ad patrem accusavit Perseus.[2] Fuga per Paeoniam praeparata argue-

[1] se esse *Madvig*: sese ζ.
[2] Perseus *Gelenius*: *om.* ζ.

[1] Cf. xi. 1 above and the note.

[2] The interpretation is not entirely certain, and the text, although in general it has the support of the MSS., may not be sound: the pronouns especially are curiously employed. The letter purports to be from Quinctius to Philip, and its *deprecatio* is designed quite as much to acquit Quinctius of any share in any plot as to warn Philip that a plot exists; the conditional clause *si . . . egisset* is a virtual admission that Demetrius had consulted with Quinctius about the matter. Yet one would expect that the conspirators would treat it as a letter from Quinctius to Demetrius which they had inter-

him while he was besieging Petra. As a result B.C. 181
Herodorus—he was the foremost of the friends of Demetrius—was placed under arrest and orders were issued that Demetrius was to be unobtrusively watched. These things, added to everything else, saddened the king's return to Macedonia. He was indeed moved by these new charges; yet he thought that he ought to wait for the envoys whom he had sent to Rome to find out everything. When he had passed some months in this anxiety and trouble, at length the ambassadors, who had long before, while still in Macedonia, planned what report they would bring back from Rome, arrived; they, in addition to making other serious charges, delivered to the king a forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit signet of Titus Quinctius.[1] There was in the letter a warning against wrong inferences in case the young man, carried away by his desire for the throne, should have held any conversation with himself: Demetrius would do nothing to injure any of his relatives, nor was Quinctius himself one who could seem to sponsor any unfilial scheme.[2] This letter furnished confirmation to the charges of Perseus. As a result Herodorus was at once tortured for a long time without betraying anything and died on the rack.

XXIV. Demetrius was again accused by Perseus before his father. The intended flight through Paeonia was one charge, and the bribery of certain

cepted: the use of the pronouns seems to make this impossible, and the content of the letter is inconsistent with that interpretation. If this were true, one could conclude only that Demetrius had discussed the situation with Quinctius and that the latter had urged the former against taking active measures to secure the throne and especially against involving Quinctius in the plot.

A.U.C. 573

batur [1] et corrupti quidam ut comites itineris essent;
2 maxime falsae litterae T. Quinctii urgebant. Nihil tamen palam gravius pronuntiatum de eo est, ut dolo potius interficeretur, nec id cura ipsius, sed ne
3 poena eius consilia adversus Romanos nudaret. Ab Thessalonice Demetriadem ipsi cum iter esset, Astraeum Paeoniae Demetrium mittit cum eodem comite Dida, Perseum Amphipolin ad obsides
4 Thracum accipiendos. Digredienti ab se Didae
5 mandata dedisse dicitur de filio occidendo. Sacrificium ab Dida seu institutum seu simulatum est, ad quod celebrandum invitatus Demetrius ab Astraeo Heracleam venit. In ea cena dicitur
6 venenum datum. Poculo epoto extemplo sensit, et mox coortis doloribus, relicto convivio cum in cubiculum recepisset sese, crudelitatem patris conquerens, parricidium fratris ac Didae scelus incusans
7 torquebatur. Intromissi deinde Thyrsis quidam Stuberraeus et Beroeaeus [2] Alexander iniectis tape-
8 tibus in caput faucesque spiritum intercluserunt. Ita innoxius adulescens, cum in eo ne simplici quidem genere mortis contenti inimici fuissent, interficitur.

XXV. Dum haec in Macedonia geruntur, L. Aemilius Paulus,[3] prorogato ex consulatu imperio, principio veris in Ligures Ingaunos exercitum [4] introduxit.

[1] arguebatur *Gelenius*: arguebant ς.
[2] Beroeaeus *Sigonius*: bereus *et similia* ς.
[3] Paulus *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[4] exercitum *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.

[1] A sacrifice was usually accompanied by a feast.

persons to be his companions on the journey; the B.C. 181
forged letter of Titus Quinctius weighed especially heavily against him. Nevertheless no severe sentence was openly pronounced upon him, in order that he might rather be killed through guile, and this not out of any consideration for him personally, but in order that his punishment might not expose the plans against the Romans. When Philip himself had a journey to make from Thessalonica to Demetrias, he sent Demetrius, accompanied by the same Didas, to Astraeum in Paeonia and Perseus to Amphipolis to receive the Thracian hostages. Instructions regarding the murder of his son are said to have been given by him to Didas as they separated. Didas either held or pretended to hold a sacrifice, and being invited to its celebration Demetrius came from Astraeum to Heraclea, and it was during this dinner that it is said that the poison was administered.[1] Having drained the cup he immediately perceived it, and presently, when his sufferings began and he had retired to his bedroom from the dining-room, complaining of the cruelty of his father and inveighing against the murderous designs of his brother and the crime of Didas, he was being tortured by his agony. Then a certain Thyrsis from Stuberra and Alexander from Beroea were admitted, and putting coverlets over his head and mouth they smothered him. Thus the innocent youth perished, his enemies being not even contented with a single kind of death for him.

XXV. While this was going on in Macedonia, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, whose *imperium* had been prolonged after his consulship, in the beginning of spring led the army against the Ligurian Ingauni.

A.U.C. 573

2 Ubi primum in hostium finibus castra posuit, legati ad eum per speciem pacis petendae speculatum venerunt. 3 Neganti Paulo nisi cum deditis pacisci se pacem, non tam id recusabant quam tempore aiebant opus esse, 4 ut generi agresti hominum persuaderetur. Ad hoc decem dierum indutiae cum darentur,[1] petierunt deinde ne trans montes proximos castris pabulatum lignatumque milites irent: culta ea loca suorum 5 finium esse. Id ubi impetravere, post eos ipsos montes unde averterant hostem, exercitu omni coacto, repente multitudine ingenti castra Romanorum oppugnare simul omnibus portis aggressi sunt. 6 Summa vi totum diem oppugnarunt, ita ut ne efferendi quidem signa Romanis spatium nec ad explicandam 7 aciem locus esset. Conferti in portis obstando magis quam pugnando castra tutabantur. Sub occasum solis cum recessissent hostes, duos equites ad Cn.[2] Baebium proconsulem[3] cum litteris Pisas mittit, ut obsesso per indutias sibi quam primum subsidio 8 veniret. Baebius exercitum M. Pinario praetori eunti in Sardiniam tradiderat: ceterum et senatum litteris certiorem fecit[4] obsideri a Liguribus L. 9 Aemilium, et M. Claudio Marcello, cuius proxima inde provincia erat, scripsit ut si videretur ei exercitum e Gallia traduceret in Ligures et L. Aemilium

[1] dec. di. ind. cum darentur σ: quum darentur induciae *M.*
[2] Cn. *Glareanus*: *m.* σ.
[3] proconsulem *Sigonius*: consulem σ.
[4] fecit σ: facit *M.*

As soon as he had encamped in the enemy's country, B.C. 181 ambassadors came to him to spy, although under the guise of seeking peace. When Paulus said that he did not negotiate for peace except with people who had surrendered, they did not so much refuse to negotiate as say that they needed time to persuade a rude agricultural tribe. When a truce for ten days was granted for this purpose, they then asked that the soldiers should not cross the mountains nearest the camp in quest of forage and wood: these, they said, were the cultivated parts of their territory. When they obtained this, they massed their whole army under cover of those very mountains from which they had kept the enemy, and suddenly with a vast host advanced to attack the Roman camp at all the gates at once. They continued the attack all day with the greatest violence, so that the Romans did not even have the opportunity to carry forth their standards nor any room to develop their line of battle. Having been packed in the gates, they defended the camp more by blocking the entrances than by fighting. When the enemy had retired at sunset, the consul sent two troopers to Gnaeus Baebius the proconsul at Pisa, with dispatches to the effect that he had been besieged during a truce and that Baebius should come to his aid as soon as possible. Baebius had turned his army over to Marcus Pinarius the praetor, who was going to Sardinia: but he informed the senate by letter that Lucius Aemilius was besieged by the Ligurians, and he wrote to Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose province was nearest to them, that if it seemed wise to him he should march his army from Gaul against the Ligurians and rescue Lucius Aemilius from siege. All these relief

A.U.C. 573

10 liberaret obsidione. Haec sera futura auxilia erant. Ligures ad castra postero die redeunt. Aemilius cum et venturos scisset et educere in aciem potuisset, intra vallum suos tenuit, ut extraheret rem in id tempus, quo Baebius cum exercitu venire a Pisis posset.

XXVI. Romae magnam trepidationem litterae
2 Baebii fecerunt, eo maiorem quod paucos post dies Marcellus, tradito exercitu Fabio Romam cum venisset, spem ademit eum qui in Gallia esset exercitum in Ligures posse traduci, quia bellum cum Histris esset prohibentibus coloniam Aquileiam
3 deduci: eo profectum Fabium, neque inde regredi
4 bello inchoato posse. Una, et ea ipsa tardior quam tempus postulabat, subsidii spes erat, si consules maturassent in provinciam ire. Id ut facerent, pro
5 se quisque patrum vociferari. Consules nisi confecto dilectu negare se ituros,[1] nec suam segnitiem sed vim morbi in causa esse quo serius perficeretur.
6 Non tamen potuerunt sustinere consensum senatus, quin paludati exirent et militibus quos conscriptos haberent, diem edicerent quo Pisas convenirent. Permissum ut qua irent protinus subitarios milites
7 scriberent ducerentque secum. Et praetoribus Q. Petilio et Q. Fabio imperatum est ut Petilius duas legiones civium Romanorum tumultuarias scriberet

[1] se ituros *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: esse ituros *M*: ituros se σ.

[1] Cf. XXXI. xiv. 1 and the note.

[2] Fabius Maximus, the *praetor peregrinus*; the Fabius of sect. 2 above is Fabius Buteo.

[3] These legions resemble the usual *urbanae*, reserve legions (XXXV. ii. 3 and the note), and are so called in xxviii. 9 below.

measures were destined to be late. The Ligurians B.C. 181 returned the next day to the camp. Although Aemilius had known that they would come and could have drawn his forces out into battle-line, he held his men within the rampart, so as to drag things out until Baebius and his army could arrive from Pisa.

XXVI. At Rome the letter of Baebius caused great consternation, the greater because a few days later, when Marcellus reached Rome after turning his army over to Fabius, he took away the hope that the army which was in Gaul could be marched against the Ligurians, because the war was on with the Histrians, who were interfering with the establishment of the colony at Aquileia: Fabius, he said, had already set out for Histria and could not return now that the war had begun. There was only one hope of assistance, and that requiring more time than the critical situation permitted—the possibility that the consuls should make haste to go to their province. Each of the Fathers on his own account cried out that they should do so. The consuls refused to go unless the levy were complete, saying that it was due not to their sloth but to the violence of the epidemic that the levy was slow in being finished. Nevertheless they could not resist the general sentiment of the senate, and therefore set out in uniform[1] and proclaimed to the soldiers whom they now had levied the day on which they were to muster at Pisa. Authority was granted them to enlist at once and take with them emergency troops wherever they went. Orders were also issued to the praetors Quintus Petilius and Quintus Fabius[2] that Petilius should enroll two emergency[3] legions of Roman citizens

A.U.C. 573

et omnes minores quinquaginta annis sacramento rogaret, Fabio, ut sociis Latini nominis quindecim milia peditum, octingentos equites imperaret. 8 Duumviri navales creati C. Matienus et C. Lucretius, navesque iis ornatae sunt, Matienoque, cuius [1] ad Gallicum sinum provincia erat, imperatum est ut classem primo quoque tempore duceret in Ligurum oram, si quo usui esse L. Aemilio atque exercitui eius posset.

XXVII. Aemilius, postquam nihil usquam auxilii ostendebatur, interceptos credens equites, non ultra 2 differendum ratus quin per se fortunam temptaret, priusquam hostes venirent, qui segnius socordiusque oppugnabant, ad quattuor portas exercitum instruxit ut signo dato simul ex omnibus partibus eruptionem 3 facerent. Quattuor extraordinariis cohortibus duas adiunxit praeposito M. Valerio legato, erumpere 4 praetoria porta [2] iussit. Ad dexteram principalem hastatos legionis primae instruxit; principes ex eadem legione in subsidiis posuit: M. Servilius et 5 L. Sulpicius [3] tribuni militum his praepositi.[4] Tertia legio adversus sinistram principalem portam instructa 6 est. Id tantum mutatum: principes primi et hastati

[1] Matienoque cuius *Gelenius*: cuiusque ς.
[2] praetoria porta *Klenze*: extraordinarios (-iis) a porta ς.
[3] M. Servilius et L. Sulpicius *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: m. seruilium et l. sulpicium ς.
[4] praepositi *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: praepositis ς.

[1] Additional cohorts, not forming part of the legionary organization: cf. XXXIV. xlvii, 3 and the note.
[2] They probably belonged to the *sinistra ala*: cf. sect. 7 below and the note and XXXI. xxi. 7 and the note.
[3] The rectangular camp was divided into four approximately equal sections by streets parallel to the sides and termin-

and should administer the oath to all under the age of B.C. 181 fifty years, and to Fabius to call upon the allies of the Latin confederacy for fifteen thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry. They elected as *duumviri navales* Gaius Matienus and Gaius Lucretius and ships were equipped for them, and Matienus, whose district was along the Gallic gulf, was directed to conduct his fleet at the earliest possible moment to the coast of the Ligurians, to see if he could assist Lucius Aemilius and his army in any way.

XXVII. Aemilius, when no sign of relief was in sight anywhere, assuming that his troopers had been captured, decided that he should not wait longer before making trial of fortune for himself, and before the arrival of the enemy, who were conducting the siege rather slowly and half-heartedly, he formed his army at the four gates, so that when the signal was given they might sally forth in all directions at once. To the four attached [1] cohorts he added two [2] under the command of Marcus Valerius the lieutenant, and ordered them to attack from the *porta praetoria*.[3] At the *dextra principalis* he placed the *hastati* [4] of the first legion; the *principes* of the same legion he posted in reserve. Marcus Servilius and Lucius Sulpicius, tribunes of the soldiers, were in command. The third legion was similarly disposed at the *sinistra principalis*. This one change was made: the *principes* were placed in the front line and the *hastati* in re-

ating in gates. The gate facing the enemy was the *praetoria*, the one opposite it the *quaestoria* or *decumana*, on the remaining sides were the *dextra* and *sinistra principalis*, right and left from the standpoint of a person facing the enemy.
[4] The *hastati*, *principes* and *triarii* were respectively the first, second and third lines of a legion in battle-formation.

A.U.C. 573

in subsidiis locati; Sex. Iulius Caesar et L. Aurelius [1] Cotta tribuni militum huic legioni praepositi sunt. 7 Q. Fulvius Flaccus legatus cum dextera ala ad quaestoriam portam positus; duae cohortes et triarii duarum legionum in praesidio castrorum manere 8 iussi. Omnes portas contionabundus ipse imperator circumiit, et quibuscumque irritamentis poterat iras 9 militum acuebat, nunc fraudem hostium incusans, qui pace petita, indutiis datis, per ipsum indutiarum tempus contra ius gentium ad castra oppugnanda venissent: nunc quantus pudor esset edocens ab Liguribus, latronibus verius quam hostibus iustis, Roma- 11 num exercitum obsideri. "Quo ore quisquam vestrum, si hinc alieno praesidio, non vestra virtute evaseritis, occurret, non dico eis militibus, qui Hannibalem, qui Philippum, qui Antiochum, maxi- 12 mos aetatis nostrae reges ducesque, vicerunt, sed iis qui hos ipsos Ligures aliquotiens pecorum modo fugientes per saltus invios consectati ceciderunt? 13 Quod [2] Hispani, quod [2] Galli, quod [2] Macedones Poenive non audeant, Ligustinus hostis vallum Romanum subit, obsidet ultro et oppugnat, quem scrutantes ante devios saltus abditum et latentem 14 vix inveniebamus." Ad haec consentiens reddebatur militum clamor, nullam militum culpam esse, quibus 15 nemo ad erumpendum signum dedisset, daret

[1] Aurelius *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: ualerius ς.
[2] quod (*ter*) *edd. vett.*: quid (*ter*) ς.

[1] This Flaccus was probably the cousin of the Flaccus who was in Spain (i. 2 above). He was praetor in 187 B.C. (XXXVIII. xlii. 4) and replaced his step-father as consul in 180 B.C. (xxxvii. 6 below).

serve; Sextus Julius Caesar and Lucius Aurelius B.C. 181 Cotta, tribunes of the soldiers, commanded this legion. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus [1] his lieutenant was posted with the right squadron at the *porta quaestoria*; two cohorts [2] and the *triarii* of the two legions were ordered to guard the camp. The commander in person made the round of the gates to harangue the troops, and with whatever taunts he could find he worked the soldiers up to fighting pitch, now blaming the deceit of the enemy who, after seeking peace and being granted a truce, had come to besiege the camp while the truce was actually in effect, contrary to the law of nations, now showing how shameful it was for a Roman army to be besieged by Ligurians, brigands rather than regular soldiers. "With what face will any of you," he went on, "if you escape from here under the protection of anyone else and not by your own valour, meet, I shall not say those soldiers who conquered Hannibal, Philip, Antiochus, the greatest kings and commanders of our time, but those by whom these same Ligurians have so often, as they fled like sheep through pathless glades, been pursued and slaughtered? A thing that Spaniards, Gauls, Macedonians or Carthaginians did not dare to do a Ligurian enemy now does—advances against a Roman rampart, of their own accord besets and besieges it: an enemy whom, before this, we could scarcely discover, as they lurked and skulked, while we searched hidden defiles." The answer to this was a general shout from the troops, that the soldiers were not to blame since no one had given them the order to sally forth: let him

[2] They must also have belonged to the *sinistra ala*, but six of its cohorts are not accounted for here.

A.U.C. 573 signum: intellecturum eosdem qui antea fuerint et Romanis et Ligures esse.

XXVIII. Bina cis montes castra Ligurum erant. 2 Ex iis primis diebus sole orto pariter omnes compositi et instructi procedebant; tum nisi exsatiati cibo vinoque arma non capiebant, dispersi inordinati exibant, ut quibus prope [1] certum esset hostes extra 3 vallum non elaturos signa. Adversus ita incompositos eos venientes clamore pariter omnium qui in castris erant, calonum quoque et lixarum sublato 4 simul omnibus portis Romani eruperunt. Liguribus adeo improvisa res fuit ut perinde ac si insidiis circum- 5 venti forent trepidarent. Exiguum temporis aliqua forma pugnae fuit: fuga deinde effusa et fugientium [2] passim caedes erat, equitibus dato signo ut conscenderent equos nec effugere quemquam sinerent. In castra omnes trepida fuga compulsi sunt, deinde 6 ipsis exuti castris. Supra quindecim milia Ligurum eo die occisa, capti duo milia et trecenti.[3] Triduo post Ligurum Ingaunorum nomen omne obsidibus 7 datis in dicionem venit. Gubernatores nautaeque conquisiti, qui in praedatoriis [4] fuissent navibus, atque omnes in custodiam coniecti. Et a C. Matieno duumviro naves eius generis in Ligustina ora triginta duae 8 captae sunt. Haec qui nuntiarent litterasque ad senatum ferrent, L. Aurelius Cotta C. Sulpicius Gallus

[1] prope *Muretus*: pro se ς.
[2] et fugientium *edd. vett.*: effugientium ς.
[3] trecenti *Madvig*: trecenti tres *M*: quingenti ς.
[4] in praedatoriis *Crévier*: praedatores ς.

give the signal and he would soon learn that both B.C. 181 Romans and Ligurians were the same as they had been before.

XXVIII. The Ligurians had two camps on this side of the mountains. Formerly, all alike used to come forth from them at sunrise, formed and arrayed for battle; but later on they did not take up arms until they had their fill of food and wine, and then they went out scattered and disorganized, like men who were practically certain that the enemy would not bring out their standards before the rampart. Against an enemy advancing in such disorder, a shout being raised at one time by all who were in the camp, attendants and sutlers alike, the Roman soldiers burst from all the gates at once. The attack was so complete a surprise to the Ligurians that they were as frightened as if they had fallen into an ambush. For a brief period there was something resembling a battle: then there was headlong flight and the slaughter of fugitives all around, the signal having been given to the cavalry that they should mount their horses and permit no one to escape. All were driven in terrified rout into the camps and then stripped of their camps as well. More than fifteen thousand of the Ligurians were killed that day and two thousand three hundred captured. Three days later the whole people of the Ligurian Ingauni gave hostages and surrendered. The pilots and sailors who had been on their pirate ships were sought out and all put in confinement. And Gaius Matienus the duumvir captured thirty-two ships of this kind on the Ligurian coast. To take this news and carry dispatches to the senate, Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Gaius Sulpicius Gallus were sent to Rome,

A.U.C. 573

Romam missi, simulque peterent ut L. Aemilio confecta provincia decedere et deducere secum milites liceret atque dimittere. Utrumque permissum ab senatu et supplicatio ad omnia pulvinaria per triduum decreta, iussique praetores Petilius urbanas dimittere legiones, Fabius sociis atque nomini Latino remittere dilectum; et ut praetor urbanus consulibus scriberet senatum aequum censere subitarios milites, tumultus causa conscriptos, primo quoque tempore dimitti.

XXIX. Colonia Graviscae [1] eo anno deducta est in agrum Etruscum, de Tarquiniensibus quondam captum. Quina iugera agri data; tresviri deduxerunt C. Calpurnius Piso P. Claudius Pulcher C. Terentius Istra. Siccitate et inopia frugum insignis annus fuit. Sex menses numquam pluvisse memoriae [2] proditum.

Eodem anno in agro L. Petilii scribae sub Ianiculo, dum cultores agri altius moliuntur terram, duae lapideae arcae, octonos ferme pedes longae, quaternos latae, inventae sunt, operculis plumbo devinctis. Litteris Latinis Graecisque utraque arca inscripta [3] erat, in altera Numam Pompilium Pomponis filium, regem Romanorum, sepultum esse, in altera libros Numae Pompilii inesse. Eas arcas cum ex amicorum sententia dominus aperuisset, quae titulum sepulti

[1] Graviscae *ed. Parisina* 1510: crauis *aut* grauis ς.
[2] memoriae *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: memoria ς.
[3] inscripta *edd. vett.*: scripta ς.

[1] Cf. XXXVIII. l. 3. Paulus is beginning a campaign for a triumph.

with instructions also to ask that Lucius Aemilius, having accomplished the task assigned him as his province, should be permitted to leave it and to bring his soldiers back with him and discharge them.[1] Both requests were granted by the senate, and a three-day period of thanksgiving was decreed at all the banquet-tables of the gods, and the praetor Petilius was instructed to discharge the reserve legions, the praetor Fabius to discontinue the levy among the allies of the Latin confederacy; and it was ordered that the *praetor urbanus* should write to the consuls that the senate deemed it proper that they should discharge the temporary troops, which had been drafted because of the emergency, at the earliest possible moment. B.C. 181

XXIX. A colony at Gravisca was founded this year in Etruscan territory, which had once been taken from the people of Tarquinii. Five *iugera* of land were given each colonist; the board of three who founded it consisted of Gaius Calpurnius Piso, Publius Claudius Pulcher, Gaius Terentius Istra. Drought and crop failures made the year remarkable. For six months, as the story goes, it did not rain at all.

The same year, on the land of Lucius Petilius, a public clerk, at the foot of the Janiculan, while husbandmen were digging up the ground to a greater depth than usual, two stone chests were found, each about eight feet long and four broad, with the lids fastened with lead. Each chest had an inscription, in Latin and Greek letters: one to the effect that Numa Pompilius, the son of Pompo, king of the Romans, was buried there, the other, that the books of Numa Pompilius were inside. When, on the advice of his friends, the owner had opened the chests, the

A.U.C. 573

regis habuerat, inanis inventa, sine vestigio ullo corporis humani aut ullius rei, per tabem tot annorum 6 omnibus absumptis. In altera duo fasces candelis involuti septenos habuere libros, non integros modo 7 sed recentissima specie. Septem Latini de iure pontificum erant, septem Graeci de disciplina sapi- 8 entiae quae illius aetatis esse potuit. Adicit Antias Valerius Pythagoricos fuisse, volgatae opinioni, qua creditur Pythagorae auditorem fuisse Numam, 9 mendacio probabili accommodata fide.[1] primo ab amicis qui in re praesenti fuerunt libri lecti; mox pluribus legentibus cum volgarentur, Q. Petilius praetor urbanus studiosus legendi libros eos a L. Pe- 10 tilio sumpsit: et erat familiaris usus, quod scribam 11 quaestor Q. Petilius in decuriam legerat. Lectis rerum summis cum animadvertisset pleraque dissol-

[1] accommodata fide *Gelenius*: accommodat fidem *S*.

[1] Numa was regarded as the source of the pontificial law.

[2] The obvious meaning is that the system expounded was simple and practical rather than theoretical and academic; but see the next sentence.

[3] Livy himself did not believe this (I. xviii. 4).

[4] Several other accounts of this episode have been preserved indirectly and incompletely: those of Cassius Hemina, Piso and Antias in Pliny (*H. N.* XIII. 84–87), and of Varro in Augustine (*De civitate dei* VII. xxxiv). It is reported also by Valerius Maximus (I. i. 12), whose account is based on Livy, and by Plutarch (*Numa* 22), who quotes Antias as his source. These accounts differ as to the number of books found: Piso says seven, Antias twelve, while Hemina (the numeral III sometimes given is a conjecture, rejected by Jan-Mayhoff and by Peter) and Varro do not mention the number. This offers a faint suggestion that Livy followed Piso here, although he agrees rather with Antias as to the contents of the book. Unfortunately Pliny does not relate the whole episode, so that a thorough-going comparison of Livy with the older writers is impossible.

one which carried the inscription about the buried king was found empty, with no trace of a human body or anything else, everything having been destroyed by the wasting action of so many years. In the other were two bundles, tied with waxed rope, containing seven books each, not merely whole, but looking absolutely fresh. The seven Latin books dealt with pontifical law,[1] the seven Greek with a system of philosophy which might have been current at that time.[2] Valerius Antias adds that they were Pythagorean, confirmation of the common belief, which says that Numa was a pupil of Pythagoras,[3] being arranged by a plausible invention.[4] The books were at first read by the friends who were present; soon, after others had read them and they were becoming generally known, Quintus Petilius, the *praetor urbanus*, desiring to read the books, borrowed them from Lucius Petilius; and there was an acquaintance between them because Quintus Petilius when quaestor had chosen the other as a clerk on his staff.[5] When, on reading the important contents, he had observed that much of it was subversive of religion,[6] B.C. 181

[5] The *scribae publici* comprised a distinct class of more or less permanent civil servants who did the clerical work in the administrative offices. This sentence may mean rather that Q. Petilius had secured for L. Petilius his appointment as a *scriba publicus* and therewith his assignment to a *decuria*, which was the unit of organization of the *scribae* as a class.

[6] This characterization seems to be inconsistent with the accepted and the rejected accounts of them in sects. 7–8 above. The Bacchanalian affair had made the Romans unusually sensitive about the preservation of the native religion the hold of which on the people was manifestly weakening. Curiously, however, the pontiffs were not consulted, and only a lay opinion as to the nature of these books was sought.

A.U.C. 573

vendarum religionum esse, L. Petilio dixit sese libros eos in ignem coniecturum esse; priusquam id faceret, se ei permittere uti si quod seu ius seu auxilium se habere ad eos libros repetendos existimaret, exper-
12 iretur: id [1] integra sua gratia eum facturum. Scriba tribunos plebis adit, ab tribunis ad senatum res est reiecta. Praetor se [2] iusiurandum dare paratum esse aiebat, libros eos legi servarique non oportere.
13 Senatus censuit satis habendum quod praetor iusiurandum polliceretur; libros primo quoque tempore in comitio cremandos esse; pretium pro libris quantum Q. Petilio praetori maiorique parti tribunorum plebis videretur, domino solvendum esse. Id scriba non
14 accepit. Libri in comitio igne a victimariis facto [3] in conspectu populi cremati sunt.

XXX. Magnum bellum ea aestate coortum in Hispania citeriore. Ad quinque et triginta milia hominum, quantum numquam ferme antea, Celtiberi
2 comparaverant. Q. Fulvius Flaccus eam obtinebat provinciam. Is quia armare iuventutem Celtiberos audierat, et ipse quanta poterat a sociis auxilia contraxerat, sed nequaquam numero militum hostem
3 aequabat. Principio veris exercitum in Carpetaniam

[1] id *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[2] se *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ei *aut* eis *aut* eius ς.
[3] igne a victimariis facto *Gelenius*: ignea uictima his facta ς.

[1] In other words, the praetor would countenance an appeal for the *auxilium* of the tribunes if the scribe considered that he was suffering the confiscation of legally-held property.
[2] Valerius Maximus says that the Latin books were spared. Livy and all the other authorities seem to think that both Latin and Greek books were burned.

he told Lucius Petilius that he intended to throw B.C. 181
those books into the fire; before he did this he gave the scribe permission to try to see if he thought that he had any legal right or possibility of assistance,[1] if he preferred, to recover those books: he himself would take no offence at such action. The scribe went to the tribunes of the people and by them the case was referred to the senate. The praetor said that he was prepared to give his oath that the books ought not to be read or preserved. The senate voted that it seemed sufficient that the praetor promised the oath; that the books should be burned as soon as possible in the *comitium*; that compensation for the books, whatever seemed proper to Quintus Petilius the praetor and the majority of the tribunes of the people, should be paid to their owner. This the scribe did not accept. The books [2] were burned in the *comitium* in sight of the people, the fire having been supplied by the *victimarii*.[3]

XXX. A great war broke out that summer in Nearer Spain.[4] The Celtiberians had mobilized about thirty-five thousand men, a greater number, almost, than ever before. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was governor of this province. Because he had heard that the Celtiberians were arming their young men, he too had brought in from the allies as many auxiliaries as possible, but by no means equalled the enemy in number of men. In the beginning of spring he led

[3] In later times the *victimarii* assisted priests and magistrates at sacrifices; it is not known whether they functioned thus in the time under discussion. Their participation here, whatever their official status was, makes the destruction of the books appear as a formal act of sacrifice.
[4] The narrative broken off at xvi. 11 above is resumed.

A.U.C. 573

duxit et castra locavit ad oppidum Aeburam, modico praesidio in urbe posito. Paucis post diebus Celtiberi
4 milia duo fere inde sub colle posuerunt castra. Quos ubi adesse praetor Romanus sensit, M. Fulvium fratrem cum duabus turmis sociorum equitum ad castra hostium speculatum misit, quam proxime succedere ad vallum iussum[1] ut viseret quanta essent;
5 pugna abstineret reciperetque sese, si hostium equitatum exeuntem vidisset. Ita ut praeceptum erat fecit. Per dies aliquot nihil ultra motum quam ut hae duae turmae ostenderentur, deinde subducerentur, ubi equitatus hostium castris procucurrisset.
6 Postremo Celtiberi, simul omnibus copiis peditum equitumque castris egressi, acie derecta medio fere
7 spatio inter bina castra constiterunt. Campus erat planus omnis et aptus pugnae. Ibi stetere Hispani hostes expectantes. Romanus suos intra vallum continuit. Per quadriduum continuum et illi eodem
8 loco aciem instructam tenuerunt et ab[2] Romanis nihil motum. Inde quievere in castris Celtiberi, quia pugnae copia non fiebat: equites tantum in stationem egrediebantur, ut parati essent si quid ab hoste
9 moveretur. Pone castra utrique pabulatum et lignatum ibant, neutri alteros impedientes.

XXXI. Praetor Romanus ubi satis tot dierum quiete credidit spem factam hosti nihil se priorem

[1] quam . . . iussum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* ς.
[2] et ab *Madvig*: ab ς.

the army into Carpetania and fixed his camp near the B.C. 181
town of Aebura, leaving a small garrison in the town. A few days later the Celtiberians encamped about two miles away, at the foot of a hill. When the Roman praetor became aware of their arrival, he sent his brother Marcus Fulvius with two troops of allied cavalry to reconnoitre toward the camp of the enemy, with orders to approach as closely as possible to the rampart so as to ascertain how large the camp was; he was to avoid a battle and to withdraw if he saw the hostile cavalry coming out. He acted just as he was ordered. For several days there was no movement beyond the fact that these two troops showed themselves and were then withdrawn when the enemy's cavalry had rushed out of the camp. Finally the Celtiberians, leaving the camp with their entire force of infantry and cavalry, took their position in a straight line about half-way across the plain which was between the two camps. The plain was entirely flat and suitable for fighting. There the Spaniards stood waiting for the enemy. The Roman kept his men within the rampart. For four days in succession they on their side held their line in formation on the same ground; the Romans, on their side, made no move. Then the Celtiberians rested in camp, because they had no opportunity to fight: only the cavalry rode out to the outguards, so as to be ready if any move should be made by the enemy. Both armies went to the rear of their camps for forage and wood, neither interfering with the other.

XXXI. The Roman praetor, when he was well assured that the inaction of so many days had created in the enemy the expectation that the Romans

A.U.C. 573

moturum, L. Acilium cum ala sinistra et sex milibus provincialium auxiliorum circumire montem iubet
2 qui ab tergo hostibus erat; inde ubi clamorem audisset, decurrere ad castra eorum. Nocte profecti
3 sunt ne possent conspici. Flaccus luce prima C. Scribonium praefectum socium ad vallum hostium cum equitibus extraordinariis sinistrae alae mittit;
4 quos ubi et propius accedere et plures quam soliti erant, Celtiberi conspexerunt, omnis equitatus effunditur castris, simul et peditibus signum ad exeundum
5 datur. Scribonius, uti praeceptum erat, ubi primum fremitum equestrem [1] audivit, avertit equos et castra
6 repetit. Eo effusius sequi hostes. Primo equites, mox et peditum acies aderat, haud dubia spe castra eo die se expugnaturos.[2] Quingentos passus non plus
7 a vallo aberant. Itaque Flaccus ubi satis abstractos [3] eos a praesidio castrorum suorum ratus est, intra vallum exercitu instructo tribus partibus simul erumpit, clamore non tantum ad ardorem pugnae excitandum [4] sublato, sed etiam ut qui in montibus
8 erant exaudirent. Nec morati sunt quin decurrerent, sicut imperatum erat, ad castra; ubi quinque milium armatorum non amplius relictum erat prae-
9 sidium. Quos cum et paucitas sua et multitudo hostium et improvisa res terruisset, prope sine certamine capiuntur castra. Captis,[5] quae pars

[1] equestrem *Gronovius*: equestrium ς.
[2] expugnaturos *Gronovius*: oppugnaturos ς.
[3] abstractos *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[4] pugnae excitandum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: excitandum pugnae ς.
[5] captis *Madvig*: castris ς.

would not take the initiative, ordered Lucius Acilius B.C. 181
with the left squadron and six thousand auxiliaries from the province to march around the hill which was in the rear of the enemy; thence, when he should have heard the shout, he was to rush down on the camp. They set out at night that they might not be seen. At daybreak Flaccus sent Gaius Scribonius, a commander of allies, with the attached cavalry of the left squadron, up to the rampart of the enemy; when the Celtiberians saw both that they came nearer and that they were more numerous than usual, all their cavalry poured out of the camp, and at the same time the signal was given to the infantry also to march out. Scribonius, as he had been ordered, as soon as he heard the first din of the cavalry, turned his horses and retired to the camp. The more headlong was the pursuit of the enemy. At first the cavalry and soon after the line of the infantry was at hand, possessed by the assured hope that they would capture the camp that day. They were not more than five hundred paces from the rampart. And so Flaccus, when he saw that they had been drawn far enough away from the protection of their camp, having formed his army inside the rampart, sallied out in three columns at once, raising a shout not only to increase their own ardour for fighting, but also that the detachment which was in the mountains might hear it. Nor did they delay to rush down upon the camp as they had been ordered; not more than five thousand men had been left there as a guard. Since their own small number and the great number of the enemy and the unexpectedness of the attack had thrown them into a panic, the camp was taken almost without a struggle. When it was captured,

A.U.C. 573

maxime a[1] pugnantibus conspici poterat, iniecit Acilius ignem.

XXXII. Postremi Celtiberorum qui in acie erant, primi flammam conspexere, deinde per totam aciem vulgatum est castra amissa esse et tum cum maxime ardere.[2] Unde illis terror, inde Romanis animus 2 crevit. Iam clamor suorum vincentium accidebat,[3] 3 iam ardentia hostium castra apparebant. Celtiberi parumper incertis animis fluctuati sunt: ceterum postquam receptus pulsis nullus erat nec usquam nisi in certamine spes, pertinacius de integro capes- 4 sunt pugnam. Acie media urgebantur acriter a quinta legione: adversus laevum cornu, in quo sui generis provincialia auxilia instruxisse Romanos cernebant, cum maiore fiducia intulerunt signa. 5 Iam prope erat ut sinistrum cornu pelleretur Romanis, ni septima legio successisset. Simul ab oppido Aebura qui in praesidio relicti erant, in medio ardore 6 pugnae advenerunt, et Acilius ab tergo erat. Diu in medio caesi Celtiberi: qui supererant in omnes passim partes capessunt fugam. Equites bipartito in eos emissi magnam caedem edidere. Ad viginti tria milia hostium eo die[4] occisa, capta quattuor milia septingenti[5] cum equis plus[6] quingentis et 7 signa militaria octoginta octo. Magna victoria non tamen incruenta fuit: Romani milites de duabus legionibus paulo plus ducenti, socium Latini nominis

[1] a *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[2] ardere *Gelenius*: arderent ς.
[3] accidebat *Gelenius*: accendebat ς.
[4] eo die ς: *om. M.*
[5] septingenti ς: ducenti *M.*
[6] equis plus ς: equitibus *M.*

Acilius ordered fire to be set to it in the place which B.C. 181 could be best seen by the fighters.

XXXII. The rear ranks of the Celtiberians who were in the line of battle were the first to see the flames, and then the word spread through the whole line that the camp was lost and was at that very moment in flames. What inspired terror in them increased the courage of the Romans. Now the shouts of their victorious comrades were falling upon their ears, now the blazing camp of the enemy was in sight. The Celtiberians for a while wavered in uncertainty of mind: but since there was no retreat if they were defeated nor any hope anywhere except in battle, they renewed the contest with greater stubbornness. In the centre of the line they were hard pressed by the fifth legion; against the left flank, on which they saw that the Romans had posted the provincial auxiliaries of their own race, they advanced with greater confidence. And now the Roman left was almost being driven back, and would have been had not the seventh legion come to its assistance. At the same time those who had been left on guard in the town of Aebura came up in the very heat of the fight, and Acilius from the rear was drawing near. For a long time the Celtiberians were cut down between them; those who survived sought flight in every direction. The cavalry, sent out in two columns to pursue them, caused great slaughter. About twenty-three thousand of the enemy were killed that day, four thousand seven hundred captured, with more than five hundred horses and eighty-eight military standards. The victory was great but yet not bloodless: of Roman soldiers of the two legions, a little more than two hundred,

A.U.C. 573

octingenti triginta, externorum auxiliarium ferme duo
8 milia et quadringenti ceciderunt. Praetor in castra victorem exercitum reduxit, Acilius manere in captis ab se castris iussus. Postero die spolia de hostibus lecta, et pro contione donati quorum virtus insignis fuerat.

XXXIII. Sauciis deinde in oppidum Aeburam devectis per Carpetaniam ad Contrebiam ductae
2 legiones. Ea urbs circumsessa cum a Celtiberis auxilia arcessisset, morantibus iis, non quia ipsi cunctati sunt, sed quia profectos domo inexplicabiles continuis imbribus viae et inflati amnes tenebant, desperato auxilio suorum in deditionem venit.
3 Flaccus quoque tempestatibus foedis coactus exer-
4 citum omnem in urbem introduxit. Celtiberi, qui profecti erant a domo deditionis ignari, cum tandem superatis, ubi primum imbres remiserunt, amnibus Contrebiam venissent, postquam nulla castra extra moenia viderunt, aut in alteram partem translata rati aut recessisse hostes, per neglegentiam effusi ad
5 oppidum accesserunt. In eos duabus portis Romani eruptionem fecerunt et incompositos adorti fuderunt.
6 Quae res ad resistendum eos et ad capessendam pugnam impediit, quod non uno agmine nec ad signa frequentes veniebant, eadem magnae parti ad fugam
7 saluti fuit : sparsi enim toto passim campo se diffu-

of the allies of the Latin confederacy, eight hundred B.C. 181
and thirty, of the auxiliaries from the province, about twenty-four hundred fell. The praetor led the victorious army back into camp, ordering Acilius to remain in the camp of the enemy. On the following day the spoils of the enemy were collected and before an assembly those whose valour had been conspicuous were rewarded.

XXXIII. Having transported the wounded to the town of Aebura, he led the legions through Carpetania toward Contrebia. When this town, on being besieged, had asked aid from the Celtiberians and they were slow in coming, not because they dawdled, but because after they had left home they were held up by roads made impassable by continuous rains and by swollen rivers, despairing of assistance from its friends, it surrendered. Flaccus, too, having been driven to do so by dire storms, led his whole army into the city. The Celtiberians, who had set out from home in ignorance of the surrender, when they had at last arrived at Contrebia after crossing the rivers as soon as the rains ceased, seeing no camp outside the walls and concluding that the enemy had either gone around to the other side or retired, carelessly approached the town in scattered bodies. The Romans made a sally against them from two gates and attacking them while they were in disorder put them to flight. The circumstance which hampered their resisting and standing up to the fight, namely, that they were not advancing in one column or with large numbers grouped in formation around the standards, was itself the cause of safety for the majority in the flight : for scattered as they were anyhow over the whole plain, they broke up into groups

A.U.C. 573

derunt, nec usquam [1] confertos eos hostis circumvenit. Tamen ad duodecim milia sunt caesa, capta plus quinque milia hominum, equi quadringenti, signa militaria
8 sexaginta duo. Qui palati [2] e fuga domum se recipiebant, alterum agmen venientium Celtiberorum deditionem Contrebiae et suam cladem narrando averterunt. Extemplo in vicos castellaque sua
9 omnes dilapsi. Flaccus a Contrebia profectus per Celtiberiam populabundus ducit legiones multa castella expugnando, donec maxima pars Celtiberorum in deditionem venit.

XXXIV. Haec in citeriore Hispania eo anno gesta. In ulteriore Manlius [3] praetor secunda aliquot proelia cum Lusitanis fecit.

2 Aquileia colonia Latina eodem anno in agrum [4] Gallorum est deducta. Tria milia peditum quinquagena iugera, centuriones [5] centena, centena
3 quadragena equites acceperunt. Tresviri deduxerunt P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica C. Flaminius L. Manlius
4 Acidinus. Aedes duae eo anno dedicatae sunt, una Veneris Erycinae ad portam Collinam: dedicavit L. Porcius L. F. Licinus duumvir, vota erat a consule L. Porcio Ligustino bello, altera in foro holitorio

[1] usquam ς: unquam *M*.
[2] qui palati *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: quidam latini qui ς.
[3] manlius ς: m. manlius *M*. [4] agrum *Doering*: agro ς.
[5] centuriones *Gelenius*: centurionibus ς.

[1] Usually centurions are not considered separately, and the ratio of the allotments differs: cf. XXXV. ix. 8 etc. The colony is populous and the allotments large because of its strategic position and the danger from Gauls and Histrians.

[2] For their appointment see XXXIX. lv. 6.

[3] Cf. XXX. xxxviii. 10. The vow has not been mentioned, but the senior Porcius was in Liguria in 184 B.C. (XXXIX. xxxviii. 1).

and fled, and nowhere did the enemy surround a B.C. 181 compact mass. Nevertheless about twelve thousand were killed, more than five thousand men captured, with four hundred horses and sixty-two military standards. Those who came straggling home after their rout, by describing the surrender of Contrebia and their own disaster, prevented the departure of another force of Celtiberians who were coming. All immediately dispersed to their villages and strongholds. Flaccus, setting out from Contrebia on a raid, led the legions through Celtiberia, capturing many forts, until the greatest part of the Celtiberians had surrendered.

XXXIV. These were the events of this year in Nearer Spain. In the farther province the praetor Manlius won several victories over the Lusitanians.

The Latin colony of Aquileia was founded the same year in the territory of the Gauls. Three thousand infantry received fifty *iugera* each, centurions one hundred, cavalry one hundred and forty.[1] The commissioners who founded the colony were Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Gaius Flaminius, Lucius Manlius Acidinus.[2] Two temples were dedicated that year, the first to Venus Erycina,[3] near the Porta Collina; Lucius Porcius Licinus, the son of Lucius, as duumvir dedicated it, and it had been vowed by Lucius Porcius the consul in the Ligurian war; the second to Pietas [4] in the Forum Olitorium. This

[4] Livy does not mention the romantic story told by Festus (p. 209), that the temple occupied the site of the house of a woman *quae patrem suum* (*i.e.*, of the Glabrio who vowed the temple) *inclusum carcere mammis suis clam aluerit*; Valerius Maximus (V. iv. 7) and Pliny (*H. N.* VII. 121) differ slightly.

A.U.C. 573

5 Pietatis. Eam aedem dedicavit M'. Acilius Glabrio duumvir; statuamque auratam, quae prima omnium in Italia statua aurata est, patris Glabrionis posuit.
6 Is erat qui ipse eam aedem [1] voverat, quo die cum rege Antiocho ad Thermopylas depugnasset, locaveratque idem ex senatus consulto.
7 Per eosdem dies quibus aedes hae dedicatae sunt, L. Aemilius Paulus proconsul ex Liguribus Ingaunis
8 triumphavit. Transtulit coronas aureas quinque [2] et viginti, nec praeterea quicquam auri argentique in eo triumpho latum. Captivi multi principes Ligurum ante currum ducti. Aeris trecenos militibus divisit.
9 Auxerunt eius triumphi famam legati Ligurum pacem perpetuam orantes: ita in animum induxisse Ligurum gentem, nulla umquam arma nisi imperata
10 a populo Romano sumere. Responsum a Q. Fabio praetore est Liguribus iussu senatus orationem eam non novam Liguribus esse: mens vero ut nova et orationi conveniens esset, ipsorum id plurimum
11 referre. Ad consules irent, et quae ab iis imperata essent facerent. Nulli alii quam consulibus senatum crediturum esse sincera fide in pace Ligures esse.
12 Pax in Liguribus fuit. In Corsica pugnatum cum Corsis: ad duo milia eorum M. Pinarius praetor in acie occidit. Qua clade compulsi obsides dederunt

[1] aedem ς : *om. M.* [2] quinque ς : mille *M.*

[1] Valerius Maximus (II. v. 1) says that it was an equestrian statue.
[2] Neither vow nor contract has been mentioned before.

temple was dedicated by Manius Acilius Glabrio as duumvir: a gilded statue, which was the first of all gilded statues in Italy, he set up there to his father Glabrio.[1] It was the latter who had vowed this temple on the day he had fought decisively with King Antiochus at Thermopylae, and he had also let the contract under the authority of the senate.[2] B.C. 181

About the same time that these temples were dedicated, Lucius Aemilius Paulus the proconsul triumphed over the Ligurian Ingauni. He carried in his triumph twenty-five golden crowns, but no other gold or silver was displayed. Many chiefs of the Ligurians as prisoners walked before his car. His donatives to his troops amounted to three hundred *asses* each.[3] The glamour of the triumph was increased by the arrival of envoys from the Ligurians who asked for perpetual peace; the Ligurian people, they said, had made up their minds never to take up arms except at the command of the Roman people. Quintus Fabius the praetor, by order of the senate, answered the Ligurians to the effect that this declaration on the part of the Ligurians was nothing new; but it was of the greatest importance to themselves that they should acquire a new disposition, consistent with their words. They should go to the consuls and do whatever was ordered by them. The senate, he said, would believe a statement from no one except the consuls that the Ligurians were at peace in genuine good faith. There was peace among the Ligurians. In Corsica there was a battle with the Corsicans: the praetor Marcus Pinarius killed about two thousand of them in pitched battle. Under the compulsion of this disaster, they

[3] The money apparently came out of the treasury.

A.U.C. 573
13 et cerae centum milia pondo. Inde in Sardiniam exercitus ductus, et cum Iliensibus, gente ne nunc quidem omni parte pacata, secunda proelia facta.
14 Carthaginiensibus eodem anno centum obsides redditi, pacemque iis [1] populus Romanus non ab se tantum sed ab rege etiam Masinissa praestitit, qui cum praesidio armato agrum qui in controversia erat obtinebat.

XXXV. Otiosam provinciam consules habuerunt. M. Baebius comitiorum causa Romam revocatus consules creavit A. Postumium Albinum Luscum et C.
2 Calpurnium Pisonem. Praetores exinde facti Ti. Sempronius Gracchus L. Postumius Albinus P. Cornelius Mammula,[2] Ti.[3] Minucius Molliculus A. Hostilius Mancinus C. Maenius. Ii omnes magistratum idibus Martiis inierunt.

A.U.C. 574
3 Principio eius anni quo A. Postumius Albinus et C. Calpurnius Piso consules fuerunt, ab A. Postumio consule in senatum introducti, qui ex Hispania citeriore venerant a Q. Fulvio [4] Flacco, L. Minucius legatus et duo tribuni militum, T. Maenius et L.
4 Terentius Massiliota. Hi cum duo secunda proelia, deditionem [5] Celtiberiae, confectam provinciam nuntiassent, nec stipendio quod mitti soleret nec frumento

[1] iis *Gronovius*: cum iis σ.
[2] Mammula *Pighius*: mamercus σ.
[3] Ti. *Sigonius* "*ex vet. lib.*": t σ.
[4] Fulvio *ed. Mediolanensis* 1480: *om.* σ.
[5] deditionem σ: in deditionem *M*.

[1] Cf. XLII. vii. 2. Diodorus (V. xiii. 4) speaks of wax as an important part of the wealth of the island.
[2] Diodorus (V. xv. 6) says that they retained their freedom μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, "up to our own times."
[3] According to XXX. xxxvii. 6 they gave only one hundred hostages and in XXXII. ii. 3 the return of that number is recorded.

gave hostages and a hundred thousand pounds of B.C. 181
wax.[1] Thence Pinarius crossed to Sardinia and fought successfully with the Ilienses, a tribe not even to-day entirely pacified.[2] One hundred hostages the same year were returned to the Carthaginians,[3] and the Roman people kept the peace for them with regard to not only to themselves but also to King Masinissa, who was holding with an armed guard the land which was in dispute.[4]

XXXV. The consuls had a quiet province. Marcus Baebius, who had been recalled to Rome to hold the elections, announced the choice as consuls of Aulus Postumius Albinus Luscus and Gaius Calpurnius Piso. Next the praetors were elected, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Mammula, Tiberius Minucius Molliculus, Aulus Hostilius Mancinus, Gaius Maenius. All these magistrates were inaugurated on the Ides of March.

In the beginning of this year, the consular year of B.C. 180
Aulus Postumius Albinus and Gaius Calpurnius Piso, the consul Aulus Postumius presented to the senate Lucius Minucius, a lieutenant, and two tribunes of the soldiers, Titus Maenius and Lucius Terentius Massiliota, who had come from Quintus Fulvius Flaccus in Nearer Spain. When they had reported the two victories, the submission of Celtiberia, and the accomplishment of the task assigned as his province,[5] and had added that there was no

[4] Cf. xvii. 6 above.
[5] With each occurrence of the phrase in this connection, we approach more closely the point where we must translate simply "the subjugation of the province" in the territorial sense: cf. sect. 13 below.

A.U.C. 574

portato ad exercitum in eum annum opus esse, petierunt ab senatu primum, ut ob res prospere gestas diis immortalibus honos haberetur, deinde ut Q.[1] Fulvio decedenti de provincia deportare inde exercitum, cuius forti opera et ipse et multi ante eum praetores usi essent, liceret. Quod fieri, praeterquam quod ita deberet, etiam prope necessarium esse:[2] ita enim obstinatos esse milites ut non ultra retineri posse in provincia viderentur, iniussuque abituri inde essent si non dimitterentur, aut in perniciosam, si quis impense retineret, seditionem exarsuri. Consulibus ambobus provinciam Ligures esse senatus iussit. Praetores inde sortiti sunt: A. Hostilio urbana, Ti. Minucio peregrina obvenit, P. Cornelio Sicilia, C. Maenio Sardinia. Hispanias sortiti L. Postumius ulteriorem, Ti. Sempronius citeriorem. Is quia successurus Q. Fulvio erat, ne vetere exercitu provincia spoliaretur, " quaero " inquit " de te, L. Minuci, cum confectam provinciam nunties, existimesne Celtiberos perpetuo in fide mansuros, ita ut sine exercitu ea provincia obtineri possit. Si neque de fide barbarorum quicquam recipere aut firmare nobis potes et habendum illic utique[3] exercitum censes, utrum tandem auctor senatui sis supplementum in Hispaniam mittendi, ut ii modo quibus emerita stipendia sint milites di-

[1] Q. *edd. vett.*: c. ϛ.
[2] esse *Gronovius*: esset ϛ.
[3] utique *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: ut illum ϛ.

need of the pay which was customarily sent or of the transportation of grain for the army for that year, they asked the senate, first, that honour should be paid to the immortal gods by reason of these successes and, second, that Quintus Fulvius, on his retirement from the province, should be authorized to bring away the army whose valiant services both he and many praetors before him had enjoyed. In addition to the fact that this was right, it was, they said, even almost necessary that this be done: for the soldiers were so set upon it that it seemed impossible to keep them in the province any longer, and it was probable that they would leave there without orders, if they were not discharged, or, if anyone tried to retain them too strictly, that they would flare up in a dangerous mutiny. The senate decreed to both consuls the Ligurians as their province. Then the praetors cast lots: Aulus Hostilius received the civil jurisdiction, Tiberius Minucius that between citizens and aliens, Publius Cornelius Sicily, Gaius Maenius Sardinia. Lucius Postumius drew the lot for Farther Spain and Tiberius Sempronius for Nearer Spain. Since he was to succeed Quintus Fulvius, in order that his province might not be deprived of the veteran army, " I ask of you, Lucius Minucius," he said, " since you report that the province is subjugated, whether you think that the Celtiberians will keep forever their pledge of loyalty, so that this province can be held without an army. If you can neither undertake nor assert anything to us about the loyalty of the barbarians, and think that under any conditions we must keep an army there, I ask whether you urge the senate to send replacements to Spain, so that only those troops who have completed their terms of service may be

B.C. 180

A.U.C. 574

12 mittantur, veteribus militibus tirones immisceantur, an deductis de provincia veteribus legionibus novas conscribendi et mittendi, cum contemptum tirocinium etiam mitiores barbaros excitare ad rebellandum
13 possit? Dictu quam re facilius est[1] provinciam ingenio ferocem, rebellatricem confecisse. Paucae civitates, ut quidem ego audio, quas vicina maxime hiberna premebant, in ius dicionemque venerunt;
14 ulteriores in armis sunt. Quae cum ita sint, ego iam hinc praedico, patres conscripti, me exercitu eo qui nunc est rem publicam administraturum: si deducat secum Flaccus legiones, loca pacata me ad hibernacula lecturum neque novum militem ferocissimo hosti obiecturum."

XXXVI. Legatus ad ea quae interrogatus erat respondit neque se neque quemquam alium divinare posse quid in animo Celtiberi haberent aut porro
2 habituri essent. Itaque negare non posse quin rectius sit etiam ad pacatos barbaros, nondum satis
3 adsuetos imperio, exercitum mitti. Novo autem an vetere exercitu opus sit, eius esse dicere qui scire possit[2] qua fide Celtiberi in pace mansuri sint, simul et qui illud[3] exploratum habeat quieturos milites, si
4 diutius in provincia retineantur. Si ex eo quod aut inter se loquantur aut succlamationibus apud contionantem imperatorem significent, quid sentiant, coniectandum sit, palam vociferatos esse aut impera-

[1] est *Madvig*: sit ς.
[2] qui scire possit *Gelenius*: quo possit ς.
[3] illud *Gelenius*: illis ς.

discharged and the recruits mingled with the veteran B.C. 180 soldiers, or to withdraw the veteran legions from the province and enroll and send over new legions, although an army of recruits, being looked down upon by the enemy, can rouse to rebellion barbarians even more fully tamed than these? It is easier to talk about than to accomplish—this subjugation of a province fierce by nature and rebellious. A few cities, as at least I hear, which the neighbourhood of the winter-quarters kept most completely under control, have come under our rule and sway; the more remote are in arms. Since this is so, conscript Fathers, I declare to you here and now that I shall administer my office with the army that is now there; if Flaccus brings back with him his legions, I shall lead the troops into winter-quarters in pacified districts and shall expose no raw troops to a most warlike enemy."

XXXVI. To the question that had been put to him the lieutenant replied that neither he nor anyone else could predict what the Celtiberians had or would have in mind. Therefore he could not deny that it was entirely proper that an army should be sent to barbarians who, even though pacified, were not yet well accustomed to authority. But whether it was necessary to employ a new or an old army was for him to say who could know how loyally the Celtiberians would abide by the peace and who at the same time could assure himself that the soldiers would remain quiet if they were held longer in the province. If inferences could be drawn as to their views either from what they said to one another or from their exclamations while the commander was addressing them, he said that they had openly proclaimed that they would either keep the com-

A.U.C. 574

torem in provincia retenturos aut cum eo in Italiam
5 venturos esse. Disceptationem inter praetorem legatumque consulum relatio interrupit, qui suas ornari provincias priusquam de praetoris exercitu
6 ageretur aequum censebant. Novus omnis exercitus consulibus est decretus, binae legiones Romanae cum suo equitatu, et socium Latini nominis quantus semper numerus, quindecim milia peditum, octin-
7 genti equites. Cum hoc exercitu Apuanis Liguribus ut bellum inferrent, mandatum est. P. Cornelio et M. Baebio prorogatum imperium iussique provincias obtinere donec consules venissent; tum imperatum ut dimisso quem haberent exercitu reverterentur
8 Romam. De Ti. Sempronii deinde exercitu actum est. Novam legionem ei quinque milium et ducentorum peditum cum equitibus quadringentis consules scribere iussi, et mille praeterea peditum Roman-
9 orum, quinquaginta equites, et sociis nominis Latini imperare septem milia peditum, trecentos equites.
10 Cum hoc exercitu placuit ire in Hispaniam citeriorem Ti. Sempronium.[1] Q. Fulvio permissum ut, qui milites ante Sp. Postumium Q. Marcium consules cives Romani sociive in Hispaniam transportati essent, et praeterea supplemento adducto, quo amplius in[2] duabus legionibus quam decem milia et quadringenti pedites, sescenti equites essent, et so-

[1] Ti. Sempronium *hic coll. ed. Frobeniana* 1535, *post* exercitu *γ*.
[2] in *Pighius*: *om. γ*.

[1] The technical term for the equipment and supply of a military force.
[2] This number of Latins was normally provided for each consul.

mander in the province or go to Italy with him. B.C. 180
This colloquy between the praetor and the lieutenant was interrupted by a motion by the consuls, who judged it proper that their provinces should be provided for[1] before the question of an army for a praetor was raised. An entire new army was decreed to the consuls, two Roman legions for each, with the appropriate cavalry, and of the allies of the Latin confederacy, as great a number as always, fifteen thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry.[2] With this army they were directed to make war upon the Ligurian Apuani. The *imperium* of Publius Cornelius and Marcus Baebius was prolonged, and they were ordered to hold the province until the arrival of the consuls; then it was directed that they discharge the armies which they had and return to Rome. Then the question of an army for Tiberius Sempronius was taken up. The consuls were directed to enlist for him a new legion of fifty-two hundred infantry and four hundred[3] cavalry and in addition a thousand Roman infantry and fifty cavalry, and to levy upon the allies of the Latin confederacy for seven thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. With this army it was the senate's pleasure that Tiberius Sempronius should go to Nearer Spain. Permission was granted to Quintus Fulvius that those, whether Roman citizens or allies, who had been taken to Spain before the consulship of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Marcius,[4] and, moreover, when the new drafts were added, in consequence of which addition there were in the two legions more than ten thousand four hundred infantry and six hundred cavalry and of the allies

[3] The cavalry contingent is unusually large.
[4] They were consuls in 186 B.C. (XXXIX. viii. 1).

A.U.C. 574

11 cium Latini nominis duodecim milia, sescenti[1] equites quorum forti opera duobus adversus Celtiberos proeliis usus Q. Fulvius esset, eos si videretur secum
12 deportaret. Et supplicationes decretae quod is prospere rem publicam gessisset. Et ceteri praetores
13 in provincias missi. Q. Fabio Buteoni prorogatum in Gallia[2] imperium est. Octo legiones praeter exercitum veterem qui in Liguribus in spe propinqua missionis erat eo anno esse placuit. Et is ipse
14 exercitus aegre explebatur propter pestilentiam quae tertium iam annum urbem Romanam atque Italiam vastabat.

XXXVII. Praetor Ti. Minucius et haud ita multo post consul C. Calpurnius moritur, multique alii omnium ordinum illustres viri. Postremo prodigii
2 loco ea clades haberi coepta est. C. Servilius pontifex maximus piacula irae deum conquirere iussus decemviri libros inspicere, consul Apollini Aesculapio Saluti dona vovere et dare signa inaurata; quae
3 vovit deditque. Decemviri supplicationem in biduum valetudinis causa in urbe et per omnia fora conciliabulaque edixerunt;[3] maiores duodecim annis omnes

[1] sescenti ς : mille centum *M.*
[2] Gallia *edd. vett.* : galliam ς.
[3] *hic desinunt* ς *edd. vett.*: *vid. quaeso Praefationem. Hinc inde sigillis Mog.* (*editio Moguntina*); *Frob.* 31, 35 (*editiones Frobenianae* 1531, 1535) *utar.*

[1] The sentence is awkward but the general purport is clear. When the old army and the new had been merged, and troops that had been in Spain at least since 187 B.C. had been segregated, any surplus beyond the figures given for the several contingents might be discharged also, priority being given to those who had been decorated or cited in the campaign.

The mutiny here threatened was avoided (xl. 14 below). One may suspect that to win popularity with his troops

of the Latin confederacy more than twelve thou- B.C. 180
sand infantry and six hundred cavalry, and specifically those whose valiant services Quintus Fulvius had enjoyed in the two battles with the Celtiberians, that all these,[1] if he saw fit, he should bring back with him. Thanksgivings were also decreed because he had conducted the business of the state successfully. The other praetors too were sent to their provinces. The *imperium* of Quintus Fabius Buteo in Gaul was prolonged. It was decided that there should be only eight legions that year in addition to the veteran army which was among the Ligurians in the hope of an early discharge. And even this army was with difficulty raised on account of the pestilence which was now for the third year devastating the city of Rome and Italy.[2]

XXXVII. The praetor Tiberius Minucius died and not much later the consul Gaius Calpurnius, and many other distinguished men of all ranks. Finally the disaster came to be regarded as a portent. Gaius Servilius the pontifex maximus was directed to inquire into the manner of averting the wrath of the gods and the decemvirs to look into the Books; the consul was ordered to vow gifts and to give gilded statues to Apollo, Aesculapius and Salus;[3] these he vowed and gave. The decemvirs proclaimed a two-day period of prayer for health, not only in the City but in all the rural settlements and communities; all people above the age of twelve, wearing garlands

Flaccus had encouraged the threats of his troops and had tried to bluff the senate with the prospect of a mutiny.
[2] Cf. xix. 3 above.
[3] The combination of Salus with two Greek gods indicates that the Roman Salus is not meant but the Greek Hygieia; the order then probably came from the Sibylline Books.

A.U.C. 574

coronati et lauream in manu tenentes supplicaverunt. 4 Fraudis quoque humanae insinuaverat suspicio animis; et veneficii quaestio ex senatus consulto, quod in urbe propiusve urbem decem milibus passuum esset commissum, C. Claudio praetori, qui in locum Ti. Minucii erat suffectus, ultra decimum lapidem per fora conciliabulaque C. Maenio, priusquam in Sardiniam provinciam traiceret, decreta. Suspecta consulis 5 erat mors maxime. Necatus a Quarta Hostilia 6 uxore dicebatur. Ut quidem filius eius Q. Fulvius Flaccus in locum vitrici consul est declaratus, aliquanto magis infamis mors Pisonis coepit esse; et testes existebant qui post declaratos consules Albinum et Pisonem, quibus comitiis Flaccus tulerat repulsam, et exprobratum ei a matre[1] dicerent quod iam ei tertium negatus consulatus petenti esset, et adiecisse,[2] pararet se ad petendum: intra duos menses effec- 7 turam ut consul fieret. Inter multa alia testimonia ad causam pertinentia haec quoque vox, nimis vero eventu comprobata, valuit cur Hostilia damnaretur.

8 Veris principio huius, dum consules novos dilectus Romae tenet, mors deinde alterius et creandi comitia 9 consulis in locum eius omnia tardiora fecerunt, interim P. Cornelius et M. Baebius, qui in consulatu nihil memorabile gesserant, in Apuanos Ligures exercitum induxerunt.

[1] exprobatum ei a matre *Frob.* 31: exprobatam etiam hac re *Mog.*

[2] adiecisse *Frob.* 31: adiecisset *Mog.*

[1] The Flaccus of xxvii. 7 above, not his cousin, who was still in Spain.

[2] The dates of the defeats are not recorded, but he was praetor in 187 B.C. Hostilia (or Livy) does not say how she proposed to insure his success the next time.

and carrying laurel branches in their hands, made B.C. 180 the supplication. Moreover, the suspicion that human guilt was to blame had entered men's minds; and the investigation of the poisonings which had taken place in the City or nearer to it than ten miles was, by decree of the senate, entrusted to the praetor Gaius Claudius, who had been chosen to succeed Tiberius Minuicius, and beyond the tenth milestone throughout the rural settlements and communities, to Gaius Maenius before he departed for Sardinia. The death of the consul was especially suspicious. He was said to have been killed by his wife Quarta Hostilia. When indeed her son Quintus Fulvius Flaccus[1] was proclaimed consul in place of his stepfather, the death of Piso began to cause many more ugly rumours; and witnesses came forth who said that after Albinus and Piso had been declared consuls at an election in which Flaccus had suffered defeat, Flaccus had been upbraided by his mother because this was now the third time[2] that his candidacy for the consulship had been refused; let him, she had added, prepare to apply again: within two months she would bring it to pass that he should become consul. Among much other testimony bearing on the case, this one speech, being all too well confirmed by the actual result, availed to bring about the conviction of Hostilia.

In the beginning of this spring, while the levy was detaining the new consuls in Rome and then the death of one and the election to choose a new consul in his place had caused delay in all business of state, in the interval Publius Cornelius and Marcus Baebius, who had in their consulship done nothing worth recording, led the army against the Ligurian Apuani.

A.U.C. 574

XXXVIII. Ligures, qui ante adventum in provinciam consulum non expectassent bellum, improviso oppressi [1] ad duodecim milia hominum dediderunt se. Eos consulto per litteras prius senatu deducere ex montibus in agros campestres procul ab domo, ne reditus spes esset, Cornelius et Baebius statuerunt, nullum alium [2] ante finem rati fore Ligustini belli. Ager publicus populi Romani erat in Samnitibus, qui Taurasinorum fuerat. Eo cum [3] traducere Ligures Apuanos vellent, edixerunt, Ligures Apuani de montibus descenderent [4] cum liberis coniugibusque, sua omnia secum portarent. Ligures saepe per legatos deprecati, ne penates, sedem in qua geniti essent, sepulcra maiorum cogerentur relinquere arma obsides pollicebantur. Postquam nihil impetrabant neque vires ad bellandum erant, edicto paruerunt. Traducti sunt publico sumptu ad quadraginta milia liberorum capitum cum feminis puerisque. Argenti data centum et quinquaginta milia, unde in novas sedes [5] comparent quae opus essent. Agro dividendo dandoque iidem qui traduxerant, Cornelius et Baebius praepositi. Postulantibus tamen ipsis quinqueviri ab senatu dati, quorum ex consilio agerent. Transacta

[1] oppressi *Frob.* 35 : oppressi sunt *Mog.*
[2] alium *add. Madvig.*
[3] fuerat. eo cum *Weissenborn* : *om. Mog.*
[4] Apuani de montibus descenderent *Muretus* : ab Anido montibus descendere *Mog.*
[5] sedes *Crévier* : aedes *Mog.*

[1] The denomination (sesterces and not *asses*) is inferred mainly from *argenti*.

XXXVIII. The Ligurians, who had not anticipated a war before the arrival of the consuls in the province, were taken off their guard and surrendered, to the number of about twelve thousand men. First consulting the senate by letter, Cornelius and Baebius determined to move them down from the mountains to lands on the plains, far from home, that there might be no hope of return, thinking that there would be no end to the Ligurian war until this was done. There was public land belonging to the Roman people among the Samnites, which had belonged to the Taurasini. Since they wished to transfer the Ligurian Apuani there, they issued an edict that the Ligurian Apuani should come down from the mountains, bringing their wives and children, and should transport all their property with them. The Ligurians made frequent entreaties through ambassadors that they might not be compelled to leave their household gods, the land in which they had been born, the tombs of their ancestors, and also promised arms and hostages. When they met with no success and lacked the strength to fight, they obeyed the edict. There were transferred at public expense about forty thousand freemen with their women and children. One hundred and fifty thousand sesterces [1] of silver were appropriated, with which they could buy what was necessary for their new homes. For the apportionment of the land and the division of the money, the same Cornelius and Baebius who had made the transfer were appointed.[2] Nevertheless, at their request, a commission of five was named, on whose advice they might act. When, after completing

B.C. 180

[2] Pliny (*H.N.* III. 105) says that these Ligurians were called *Corneliani et Baebiani.*

A.U.C. 574

re cum veterem exercitum Romam deduxissent,
9 triumphus ab senatu est decretus. Hi omnium primi nullo bello gesto triumpharunt. Tantum hostiae ductae [1] ante currum, quia nec quod [2] ferretur neque quod duceretur captum neque quod militibus daretur quicquam in triumphis eorum fuerat.

XXXIX. Eodem anno in Hispania Fulvius Flaccus proconsul, quia successor in provinciam tardius veniebat, educto exercitu ex hibernis ulteriorem Celtiberiae agrum, unde ad deditionem non venerant,
2 institit vastare. Qua re irritavit magis quam conterruit animos barbarorum; et clam comparatis copiis saltum Manlianum, per quem transiturum exercitum
3 Romanum satis sciebant, obsederunt. In Hispaniam ulteriorem eunti L. Postumio Albino collegae Gracchus mandaverat ut Q. Fulvium certiorem faceret
4 Tarraconem exercitum adduceret: ibi dimittere [3] veteranos supplementaque distribuere et ordinare omnem exercitum sese velle. Dies quoque, et ea propinqua, edita Flacco est qua successor esset
5 venturus. Haec nova adlata res, omissis [4] quae agere instituerat, Flaccum raptim deducere exercitum ex Celtiberia cum coegisset, barbari causae ignari, suam defectionem et clam comparata arma sensisse eum et pertimuisse rati, eo ferocius saltum insederunt.
6 Ubi eum saltum prima luce agmen Romanum intravit, repente ex duabus partibus simul exorti hostes

[1] hostiae ductae *Madvig*: hostes ducti *Mog.*
[2] quod (*ter*) *Pighius*: quid (*ter*) *Mog.*
[3] dimittere *Gronovius*: dimitti *Mog.*
[4] omissis *Frob.* 31: omissisque *Mog.*

[1] Cf. XXXVII. lx. 6; XXXVIII. xlvii. 5 and the notes.
[2] That is, no booty, prisoners, animals, or money.

this task, they had brought back the veteran army, B.C. 180
a triumph was voted by the senate. They were the first of all to triumph without waging a war.[1] Only the victims were led before the car, since there had been nothing in their triumphs which could be carried, could be led, or could be given to the soldiers.[2]

XXXIX. The same year, in Spain, Fulvius Flaccus the proconsul,[3] because his successor was slow in arriving in the province, led the army out of winter-quarters and began to devastate the remoter regions of Celtiberia whence the inhabitants had not come to surrender. By this act he stirred up rather than terrified the spirits of the barbarians; and secretly massing their forces they blocked the Manlian[4] pass, through which they well knew that the Roman army would march. Gracchus had entrusted to his colleague Lucius Postumius Albinus, who was going to Farther Spain, a message for Quintus Fulvius, instructing him to conduct the army to Tarraco; there he planned to discharge the veterans and assign the replacements and organize the entire army. Also the day, and that quite near, was announced to Flaccus, on which his successor would arrive. The arrival of this news compelled Flaccus, abandoning the plan which he had begun to follow, hastily to lead the army out of Celtiberia, and the barbarians, ignorant of the reason and thinking that he had heard of their revolt and their secret mobilization and was frightened away, on that account occupied the pass more eagerly. When the Roman column at daybreak entered the pass the enemy, suddenly showing

[3] Not the consul of the year; the proper title would be propraetor.
[4] Neither its position nor the reason for its name is known.

A.U.C. 574

7 Romanos invaserunt. Quod ubi vidit Flaccus, primos tumultus in agmine per centuriones stare omnes, suo
8 quemque loco, et arma expedire iubendo sedavit, et sarcinis iumentisque in unum locum coactis copias omnes partim ipse partim per legatos tribunosque militum, ut tempus, ut locus postulabat, sine ulla
9 trepidatione instruxit, cum bis deditis rem esse [1] admonens, scelus et perfidiam illis, non virtutem nec animum accessisse, reditum ignobilem [2] in patriam clarum ac memorabilem eos sibi fecisse: cruentos ex recenti caede hostium gladios et manantia sanguine spolia Romam ad triumphum delaturos. Plura dici tempus non patiebatur: invehebant se hostes, et in
10 partibus extremis iam pugnabatur. Deinde acies concurrerunt.

XL. Atrox ubique proelium, sed varia fortuna erat. Egregie legiones, nec segnius duae alae pugnabant; externa auxilia ab simili armatura, meliore aliquantum militum genere urgebantur, nec locum
2 tueri poterant. Celtiberi ubi ordinata acie et signis collatis se non esse pares legionibus senserunt, cuneo
3 impressionem fecerunt, quo tantum valent genere pugnae, ut quamcumque partem [3] perculere impetu suo, sustineri nequeant. Tunc quoque turbatae
4 legiones sunt, prope interrupta acies. Quam trepi-

[1] bis deditis rem esse *Frob.* 35: vim deditis remisisse *Mog.*
[2] ignobilem *Frob.* 31: nobilem *Mog.*
[3] quamcumque partem *H. J. Mueller*: quacumque parte *Mog.*

[1] If the text is right it must mean that the soldiers had one final chance to distinguish themselves. It will be noted that Fulvius still speaks of the army's return to Rome, although he knew something of the plan of Gracchus.
[2] That is, the Latin allies: cf. XXXI. xxi. 7 and the note.

themselves on two sides, attacked the Romans. B.C. 180
When Flaccus saw this he quelled the first excitement in the column by issuing through the centurions orders that all should halt, each in his own place, and should make ready their arms, and having collected the trains and the pack-animals in one place, partly by himself, partly through the lieutenants and tribunes of the soldiers, he formed all the forces in line of battle as the time and the place demanded, without any confusion, reminding them that they had to deal with men who had twice surrendered, that an access of villainy and treachery, not of courage and stoutness of heart, had come to them, and that they furnished the Romans an opportunity to make an ignoble [1] return home glorious and memorable: for they would carry to Rome for the triumph swords bloody with fresh slaughter of the enemy and spoils dripping with gore. The time did not permit him to say more: the enemy was charging and on the extreme flanks the battle was already in progress. Then the battle-lines clashed.

XL. There was a fierce fight on every side, but the results varied. The legions fought nobly and not less effectively the two squadrons; [2] the auxiliaries from the province were hard pressed by men armed in the same way but consisting of a much better class of soldiers, and could not hold their ground. When the Celtiberians saw that with battle-lines arrayed and in pitched battle they were not a match for the legions, they made a thrust with the wedge, in which manner of fighting they are so powerful that against whatever troops they drive their charge they cannot be checked. Then even the legions were thrown into disorder and the line was almost broken. When

A.U.C. 574

dationem ubi Flaccus conspexit, equo advehitur ad legionarios equites, et " ni quid [1] auxilii in vobis est, actum iam de hoc exercitu erit." Cum undique acclamassent quin ederet quid fieri vellet: [2] non
5 segniter imperium exsecuturos, " duplicate turmas " inquit, " duarum legionum equites, et permittite equos in cuneum hostium, quo nostros urgent. Id cum maiore vi [3] facietis, si effrenatos in eos equos
6 immittitis; quod saepe Romanos equites cum magna
7 laude fecisse sua memoriae proditum est." Dicto paruerunt detractisque frenis bis ultro citroque cum magna strage hostium, infractis omnibus hastis,
8 transcurrerunt. Dissipato cuneo, in quo omnis spes fuerat, Celtiberi trepidare et prope omissa pugna
9 locum fugae circumspicere. Et alarii equites postquam Romanorum equitum tam memorabile facinus videre, et ipsi virtute eorum accensi sine ullius imperio in perturbatos iam hostes equos immittunt.
10 Tunc vero Celtiberi omnes in fugam effunduntur et imperator Romanus aversos hostes contemplatus aedem Fortunae Equestri Iovique optimo maximo
11 ludos vovit. Caeduntur Celtiberi per totum saltum dissipati fuga. Decem et septem milia hostium caesa eo die traduntur, vivi capti plus tria milia

[1] ni quid *Perizonius*: ecquid *Mog.*
[2] vellet *Madvig*: velit *Mog.*
[3] vi *Faber*: vi equorum *Mog.*

[1] The phrase *duplicate turmas* seems not to occur elsewhere and one can only guess at the precise meaning. Its intention was to increase the striking force of the cavalry charge by making the formation more compact, perhaps by diminishing the intervals between files. The strength of the units could not be increased.

Flaccus saw this disorganization, he rode on his horse B.C. 180
to the legionary cavalry and shouted, " Unless there is some hope of aid in you, now all will be over with this army." When from all sides a shout was raised asking him why he did not say what he wanted done, and they would execute his orders without delay, " double the squadrons," [1] he said, " you cavalry of the two legions, and turn your horses loose against the wedge of the enemy, with which they are forcing back our men. You will do this with the greater weight if you will give your horses loose rein against them; and this the records say that Roman cavalry have often done and won great glory for themselves." [2] They obeyed his order and, dropping their reins, twice, from this side and from that, drove through, causing great slaughter to the enemy and breaking every one of their spears. The wedge having been scattered, in which all their hope had rested, the Celtiberians were in panic, and almost giving up the fight were looking for a place for flight. And when the cavalry of the allies saw that the Roman cavalry had performed so memorable an exploit, they too, inspired by the valour of the others, without waiting for an order let their horses loose upon the broken enemy. Then indeed all the Celtiberians were turned to flight, and the Roman commander, seeing the backs of the enemy, vowed a temple to Fortuna Equestris [3] and games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The Celtiberians were slaughtered as they scattered in flight through the whole defile. Seventeen thousand of the enemy are reported to have been killed that day, more than

[2] There seems to be no support for this assertion.
[3] Cf. xliv. 9 below and the note.

A.U.C. 574

septingenti,[1] cum signis militaribus septuaginta
12 septem,[2] equis prope sescentis. In suis[3] castris eo die victor exercitus mansit. Victoria non sine
13 iactura militum fuit: quadringenti septuaginta duo milites Romani, socium ac Latini nominis mille decem et novem, cum[4] his tria milia militum auxiliariorum perierunt. Ita victor exercitus renovata
14 priore gloria Tarraconem est perductus. Venienti Fulvio Ti. Sempronius praetor, qui biduo ante venerat, obviam processit gratulatusque est quod rem publicam egregie gessisset. Cum summa concordia quos dimitterent quosque retinerent milites
15 composuerunt. Inde Fulvius exauctoratis[5] militibus in naves impositis Romam est profectus, Sempronius in Celtiberiam legiones duxit.

XLI. Consules ambo in Ligures exercitus induxer-
2 unt diversis partibus. Postumius prima et[6] tertia legione Ballistam Letumque[7] montes obsedit, et premendo praesidiis angustos saltus eorum commeatus interclusit, inopiaque omnium rerum eos
3 perdomuit. Fulvius secunda et[8] quarta legione adortus a Pisis Apuanos Ligures, qui eorum circa Macram fluvium incolebant, in deditionem acceptos, ad septem milia hominum, in naves impositos[9] praeter oram Etrusci maris Neapolim transmisit.
4 Inde in Samnium traducti, agerque iis inter populares

[1] septingenti *Heraeus*: mille ducenti *Mog.*
[2] c. sig. m. sep. sep. *Madvig*: sep. sep. c. sig. m. *Mog.*
[3] sescentis. in suis *Heraeus*: mille centum. in illis *Mog.*
[4] cum *Frob.* 31: in *Mog.*
[5] exauctoratis *Frob.* 31: ex authoritate *Mog.*
[6] prima et *Frob.* 31: primo *Mog.*
[7] Ballistam Letumque *Zingerle*: vallis verum tum tanquam *Mog.*
[8] secunda et *Frob.* 31: secundo *Mog.*

three thousand seven hundred taken alive, and there B.C. 180
were captured seventy-seven military standards and about six hundred horses. The victorious army remained that day in its own camp. The victory was not without loss of soldiers: four hundred and seventy-two Roman soldiers fell, of the allies of the Latin confederacy one thousand and nineteen, and in addition three thousand of the auxiliary troops. So the victorious army, having won once more its former glory, was conducted to Tarraco. Tiberius Sempronius the praetor, who had arrived two days earlier, went out to meet Fulvius on his arrival and congratulated him on his conspicuous success in defence of the state. In perfect harmony they arranged which soldiers they should discharge and which they should hold in service. Then Fulvius embarked the discharged troops on ships and set out for Rome and Sempronius led the legions into Celtiberia.

XLI. The two consuls led their armies against the Ligurians from different directions. Postumius, with the first and third legions, attacked the mountains of Ballista and Letum, and by blocking with guards their narrow passes cut the enemy off from supplies and subdued them because of their complete lack of everything. Fulvius, with the second and fourth legions, attacking from the side of Pisa the Ligurian Apuani (those of that people who lived along the Macra river), after receiving the surrender of about seven thousand men, loaded them on boats and sent them along the shore of the Tuscan sea to Naples. Thence they were transferred to Samnium and given

[9] impositos *Frob.* 35: imposita *Mog.*

A.U.C. 574

5 datus est. Montanorum Ligurum ab A. Postumio vineae caesae frumentaque deusta, donec cladibus omnibus belli coacti in deditionem venerunt armaque 6 tradiderunt. Navibus inde Postumius ad visendam oram Ingaunorum Intemeliorumque Ligurum pro- 7 cessit. Priusquam hi consules venirent ad exercitum 8 qui Pisas indictus [1] erat, praeerat [2] A. Postumius. Frater Q. Fulvii M. Fulvius Nobilior—secundae legionis Fulvius tribunus militum is erat—mensibus suis dimisit legionem, iureiurando adactis centurionibus aes in aerarium ad quaestores esse delaturos.

[1] indictus *Sigonius*: ductus *Mog.*
[2] praeerat *Madvig*: praeerant *Mog.*

[1] The text and the meaning are alike uncertain. By *hi consules* one would infer that A. Postumius and Q. Fulvius were meant, but just below A. Postumius is named as the commander of troops at Pisa which belonged to the army of Q. Fulvius. Possibly *hi consules venirent* should have been singular, referring to Fulvius, and the meaning is that Postumius preceded Fulvius to the province and assumed command temporarily of both consular armies. It is also possible that the name A. Postumius in this sentence is an error, or that another man of the name is meant, whom Livy fails to distinguish from the consul. If it is the consul, he took emergency action, notified the proper commander (Fulvius) of the troops concerned, and then proposed the exile of Nobilior.

[2] The brother of either Q. Fulvius Flaccus—the consul of 180 B.C. or the consul of 179 B.C., who was at this time still in Spain or on the way back—should have had the *cognomen* Flaccus, unless he had been adopted by some Fulvius Nobilior, and of such an adoption there is no record. There is moreover no Q. Fulvius Nobilior known to have lived at this time. One naturally assumes from Livy's language here that *Q. Fulvii* refers to the consul of 180 B.C., but no brother Marcus is mentioned elsewhere. The consul of 179 B.C. had a brother Marcus (xxx. 4 above), but it is not likely that after serving in some unspecified capacity under his brother in Spain in

land among their countrymen. Aulus Postumius B.C. 180 destroyed the vineyards and burned the crops of the Ligurians of the mountains until, compelled by the disasters of war, they submitted and gave up their weapons. Then Postumius proceeded by boat to explore the coast of the Ligurian Ingauni and Intemelii. Before these consuls [1] came to the army which was mobilized at Pisa, Aulus Postumius was in command. The brother of Quintus Fulvius, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior [2]—this Fulvius was tribune of the soldiers of the second legion—during his months [3] dismissed the legion, binding the centurions by an oath that they would turn the money in to the quaestors for the treasury.[4] When this was announced

181 B.C. he should have served as military tribune under his cousin in 180 B.C. in Italy. The consul of 179 B.C., during his censorship in 174 B.C., expelled from the senate his own brother, and Valerius Maximus (II. vii. 5, repeated by Frontinus, *Strat.* IV. i. 31) asserts that the degradation was due to the discharge of a legion of which he was military tribune. The brother is called simply Fulvius, with no *praenomen*. Livy (XLI. xxvii. 2) and Velleius (I. x. 6) likewise refer to the expulsion, the former calling the brother L. Fulvius and the latter Cn. Fulvius; neither gives any explanation of the censor's action. The evidence therefore is so contradictory as to produce hopeless confusion. All one can say is that at this time Livy apparently thought that the tribune was the brother of the consul under whom he served. In this connection, I believe that it has not been pointed out that the other censor of 174 B.C. was the other consul of 180 B.C., who, in sect. 10 below, procured the banishment of Nobilior. Perhaps he was actually more responsible than his colleague for the degradation. The *cognomen* Nobilior remains unexplained on any hypothesis.

[3] The six tribunes in each legion rotated in the command of the entire legion.

[4] This must be the portion of the pay which had not yet been distributed to the troops: cf. sect. 11 below.

A.U.C. 574

9 Hoc ubi Placentiam—nam eo forte erat profectus—Aulo[1] nuntiatum est, cum equitibus expeditis secutus dimissos, quos eorum potuit adsequi, reduxit[2] castigatos Pisas; de ceteris consulem certiorem fecit. 10 Eo referente senatus consultum factum est ut M.[3] Fulvius in Hispaniam relegaretur ultra Novam Carthaginem; litteraeque ei datae sunt a consule ad P. Manlium in Hispaniam ulteriorem deferendae; 11 milites iussi ad signa redire. Ignominiae causa[4] uti semestre stipendium in eum annum esset ei legioni decretum: qui miles ad exercitum non redisset eum ipsum bonaque eius vendere consul iussus.

XLII. Eodem anno L. Duronius, qui praetor anno superiore fuerat,[5] ex Illyrico cum decem navibus Brundisium rediit. Inde in portu relictis navibus cum venisset Romam, inter exponendas res quas ibi gessisset, haud dubie in regem Illyriorum Gentium 2 latrocinii omnis maritimi causam avertit: ex regno eius omnes naves esse, quae superi maris oram depopulatae essent; de his rebus se[6] legatos misisse, 3 nec conveniendi regis potestatem factam. Venerant Romam legati a Gentio, qui, quo tempore Romani conveniendi regis causa venissent, aegrum forte eum

[1] Aulo *Sigonius*: Fulvio *Mog.*
[2] reduxit *Gronovius*: deduxit *Mog.*
[3] senatus consultum factum est ut M. *Frob.* 31: factum est ut cos. *Mog.*
[4] ignominiae causa *Madvig*: causa ignominiae *Mog.*
[5] fuerat *Madvig*: *om. Mog.*
[6] se *Frob.* 35. *om. Mog.*

[1] This is one of the earliest examples of *relegatio*.
[2] The punishment of the soldiers seems relatively too severe, since in general they followed the instructions of presumably

to Aulus at Placentia—for he had happened to go there—following with the light cavalry the men who had been released, he punished and brought back to Pisa those of them whom he could overtake; as to the rest, he notified the consul. On his motion the senate passed a decree that Marcus Fulvius should be banished to Spain beyond New Carthage;[1] and a letter was given to him by the consul for delivery to Publius Manlius in Farther Spain; the soldiers were ordered to return to the standards. As a mark of disgrace it was voted that the legion should receive only six months' pay for that year: the consul was directed to sell the person and property of any soldier who had not returned to the army.[2] B.C. 180

XLII. The same year Lucius Duronius, who had been praetor the year before, returned from Illyricum to Brundisium with ten ships. Thence, leaving the ships in port, he went to Rome, and in the course of his narrative of what he had done there he pointed in no uncertain manner at Gentius, king of the Illyrians,[3] as the cause of all the brigandage by sea: from his kingdom, he said, came all the ships which had ravaged the coast of the upper sea; he had sent ambassadors about these matters, but there had been no opportunity to meet the king. Envoys had come to Rome from Gentius, who said that at the time the Romans had come to interview the king he had

competent authority. The action of Nobilior, so far as one can judge, was entirely irregular, even if it was not technically illegal: probably no one had ever considered such an offence as possible and had prescribed no penalty. But the text of the entire chapter is so uncertain that one cannot feel sure that the episode is clearly and correctly interpreted.
[3] Polybius (XXXII. xviii) calls him more exactly king of the Dalmatians.

A.U.C. 574

4 in ultimis partibus fussie regni dicerent: petere Gentium ab senatu ne crederent confictis criminibus in se quae inimici detulissent. Ad ea Duronius adiecit multis civibus Romanis [1] et sociis Latini nominis iniurias factas in regno eius, et cives Romanos 5 dici Corcyrae retineri. Eos omnes Romam adduci placuit,[2] C. Claudium praetorem cognoscere, neque ante Gentio regi legatisve eius responsum reddi.

6 Inter multos alios quos pestilentia eius anni absumpsit, sacerdotes quoque aliquot mortui sunt. L. Valerius Flaccus pontifex mortuus est: in eius 7 locum suffectus est Q. Fabius Labeo. P.[3] Manlius, qui nuper ex ulteriore Hispania redierat, triumvir epulo: Q. Fulvius M. F. in locum eius triumvir 8 cooptatus, tum praetextatus erat. De rege sacrificulo [4] sufficiendo in locum Cn. Cornelii Dolabellae contentio inter C. Servilium pontificem maximum fuit et L. Cornelium Dolabellam duumvirum navalem, quem ut inauguraret pontifex magistratu sese 9 abdicare iubebat. Recusantique id facere ob eam rem multa duumviro dicta a pontifice, deque ea cum

[1] quae inimici detulissent. ad ea Duronius adiecit multis civibus Romanis *Frob.* 35 : quintius ad ea dedisset Duronius multis civibus adiecit Romanis *Mog.*
[2] placuit *Frob.* 35 : placere *Mog.*
[3] P. *ed. Aldina* : C. *Mog.*
[4] sacrificulo *Drakenborch* : sacrifico *Mog.*

[1] The Illyrian city of Corcyra (Κόρκυρα) seems to be meant, not the island (Κέρκυρα).
[2] This college had charge of sacrificial feasts.

happened to be ill in the farthest part of the kingdom: B.C. 180 Gentius asked the senate not to believe the spurious charges which his enemies had made against him. Duronius added to this a statement that many Roman citizens and allies of the Latin confederacy had suffered injury in his kingdom, and that Roman citizens were said to be detained at Corcyra.[1] It was decided that all these should be brought to Rome, that the praetor Gaius Claudius should investigate, and that until this was done a reply should not be given to King Gentius or his ambassadors.

Among many others whom the pestilence of that year carried off a number of priests also died. Lucius Valerius Flaccus the pontiff died: also Quintus Fabius Labeo was chosen in his place. Publius Manlius, who had only recently returned from Farther Spain, the *triumvir epulo*,[2] died, and in his stead Quintus Fulvius the son of Marcus, who still wore the dress of boyhood,[3] was coöpted *triumvir*. In the matter of choosing a *rex sacrificulus* [4] to replace Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella, there was a dispute between Gaius Servilius the *pontifex maximus* and Lucius Cornelius Dolabella [5] the *duumvir navalis*, whom the *pontifex* ordered to resign his office that he might install him in the priesthood.[6] When he refused to do this, the *pontifex* assessed a fine against the *duumvir* and about this act there was

[3] This Fulvius, who was not old enough to assume the dress of manhood (*toga virilis*), may have been the son of the M. Fulvius of XXX. 4 above.
[4] The title indicates that he performed some of the religious duties originally belonging to the king.
[5] Dolabella was not one of the duumvirs named in XXVI. 8 above, and a later election Livy may have omitted to mention.
[6] This priesthood was incompatible with public office and with military duties.

A.U.C. 574

10 provocasset certatum ad populum. Cum plures iam tribus intro vocatae dicto esse audientem pontifici duumvirum iuberent, multamque remitti, si magistratu se abdicasset, vitium[1] de caelo quod comitia turbaret, intervenit. Religio inde fuit pontificibus
11 inaugurandi Dolabellae. P. Cloelium Siculum inaugurarunt, qui secundo loco nominatus[2] erat. Exitu anni et C. Servilius Geminus pontifex maximus decessit: idem decemvir sacrorum fuit. Pontifex in locum eius a collegio cooptatus est Q. Fulvius
12 Flaccus: creatus[3] inde[4] pontifex maximus M.[5] Aemilius Lepidus, cum multi clari viri petissent; et decemvir sacrorum Q. Marcius Philippus in eiusdem
13 locum est cooptatus. Et augur Sp. Postumius Albinus decessit: in locum eius P. Scipionem, filium Africani, augures cooptarunt.

Cumanis eo anno petentibus permissum ut publice Latine loquerentur et praeconibus Latine vendendi ius esset.

XLIII. Pisanis agrum pollicentibus quo Latina colonia deduceretur, gratiae ab senatu actae;

[1] vitium *Sigonius*: ultimum *Mog.*
[2] nominatus *Rubino*: inauguratus *Mog.*
[3] creatus *Madvig*: *om. Mog.*
[4] inde *Weissenborn*: in *M*: ante *Mog.*
[5] M. *Madvig*: *om. M Mog.*

[1] Cf. XXXVII. li. 1–6 and the notes.

[2] An unfavourable omen—usually thunder or lightning—always caused the adjournment of an assembly. This assembly had met as a final court of appeal.

[3] The colleges of pontiffs conducted a sort of preferential ballot. The *pontifex maximus* then selected the nominee, normally the one who had the largest number of votes. If he proved ineligible, as in this instance, the second was chosen, and so on.

a contest before the assembly after he had appealed.[1] B.C. 180
When several tribes had already been called in to vote, were now ordering the *duumvir* to be obedient to the *pontifex* and the fine to be remitted if he should have resigned his magistracy, an unfavourable sign[2] from heaven intervened and adjourned the assembly. Therefore the priests felt a scruple against inaugurating Dolabella. They installed as priest Publius Cloelius Siculus, who had been second on the list of nominees for the office.[3] At the end of the year the *pontifex maximus* Gaius Servilius Geminus also died; he had also been a decemvir in charge of sacrifices. As a pontiff in his place the college coöpted Quintus Fulvius Flaccus:[4] then Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was elected *pontifex maximus*, although many distinguished men were candidates;[5] and as decemvir in charge of sacrifices, in place of the same Servilius, Quintus Marcius Philippus was coöpted. Also the augur Spurius Postumius Albinus died; to replace him the augurs coöpted Publius Scipio the son of Africanus.

The Cumaeans that year asked and were granted the privilege of using the Latin language officially, and the auctioneers that of conducting their sales in Latin.[6]

XLIII. When the people of Pisa offered land to which a Latin colony should be led, they received the thanks of the senate; for this purpose Quintus

[4] Probably, though not certainly, the Flaccus who had just returned from Spain.

[5] Only members of the college of pontiffs were eligible to election as *pontifex maximus*.

[6] The Cumaeans were *cives sine suffragio*, and such communities were, it seems, allowed to use Latin officially only by special action. Their native language had become Oscan.

A.U.C. 574

triumviri creati ad eam rem Q. Fabius Buteo M. et
2 P. Popilii [1] Laenates. A C. Maenio praetore, cui provincia Sardinia cum evenisset, additum erat ut quaereret de veneficiis longius ab urbe decem
3 milibus passuum, litterae adlatae, se iam tria milia hominum damnasse, et crescere sibi quaestionem indiciis: aut eam sibi esse deserendam [2] aut provinciam dimittendam.

4 Q. Fulvius Flaccus ex Hispania rediit Romam cum magna fama gestarum rerum; qui cum extra urbem triumphi causa esset, consul est creatus cum L.
5 Manlio Acidino, et post paucos dies cum militibus quos secum deduxerat triumphans urbem est invectus.
6 Tulit in triumpho coronas aureas centum viginti quattuor: praeterea auri pondo triginta unum, argenti infecti . . . [3] et signati Oscensis nummum centum septuaginta tria milia ducentos. Militibus
7 de praeda quinquagenos denarios dedit, duplex centurionibus, triplex equiti, tantundem sociis Latini nominis, et stipendium omnibus duplex.

XLIV. Eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Villio [4] tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque

[1] Popilii *Frob.* 31 : Porcii *Mog.*
[2] deserendam *Sigonius* : defendendam *Mog.*
[3] argenti infecti * * *Madvig* : *om. Mog.*
[4] Villio *Sigonius* : Iulio *Mog.*

[1] Fulvius and Manlius were brothers (Fasti; Velleius II. viii. 2). This election, followed by that of M. Fulvius Nobilior as censor (xlv. 6 below), marks the elimax of the political ascendancy of the Fulvii.

[2] It is not difficult to supply *argenti infecti*, but the insertion of an indication of quantity would be purely a guess.

Fabius Buteo and Marcus and Publius Popilius Laenas B.C. 180 were elected members of a board of three. From the praetor Gaius Maenius, to whom, although the province of Sardinia had fallen to his lot, had been assigned the additional task of investigating cases of poisoning beyond ten miles from the City, a letter was received which said that he had already condemned three thousand persons, and that the investigation was assuming larger proportions by reason of the evidence received: he said that he would be compelled either to discontinue the investigation or give up his province.

Quintus Fulvius Flaccus returned from Spain to Rome, having earned great acclaim by his exploits; while he was waiting outside the City for the sake of a triumph, he was elected consul with Lucius Manlius Acidinus,[1] and a few days later rode into the City in triumph, accompanied by the soldiers whom he had brought back with him. He displayed in his triumph one hundred and twenty-four golden crowns and in addition thirty-one pounds of gold, of unwrought silver . . .[2] of minted coins of Osca[3] one hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred. To each of the infantry he gave out of the booty fifty *denarii*, twice that sum to the centurions and thrice to each of the cavalry, and the same amounts to the allies of the Latin confederacy,[4] and to all double pay.

XLIV. In that year for the first time a motion was proposed by Lucius Villius, tribune of the people, fixing the ages at which each magistracy might be

[3] Cf. XXXIV. x. 4 and the note.

[4] One might infer that the Latins did not usually receive the bonus.

A.U.C. 574

magistratum peterent caperentque. Inde cognomen
2 familiae inditum ut Annales appellarentur. Praetores quattuor post multos annos lege Baebia creati, quae [1] alternis quaternos iubebat creari. Hi facti
3 Cn. Cornelius Scipio C. Valerius Laevinus Q. et P. Mucii Q.[2] F. Scaevolae.

A.U.C. 575

Q. Fulvio et L. Manlio consulibus eadem provincia quae superioribus, pari numero copiae peditum
4 equitum, civium sociorum decretae. In Hispaniis duabus Ti. Sempronio et L. Postumio cum iisdem
5 exercitibus quos haberent prorogatum imperium est; et in supplementum consules scribere iussi ad tria milia peditum Romanorum, trecentos equites, quinque milia sociorum Latini nominis et quadrin-
6 gentos equites. P. Mucius Scaevola urbanam sortitus provinciam est et ut idem quaereret de veneficiis in urbe et propius urbem decem milia passuum, Cn.
7 Cornelius Scipio peregrinam, Q. Mucius Scaevola Siciliam, C. Valerius Laevinus Sardiniam.
8 Q. Fulvius consul priusquam ullam rem publicam ageret, liberare et se et rem publicam religione votis

[1] quae *ed. Vascosana*: qui *M Mog.*
[2] Q. *Sigonius*: *om. Mog.*

[1] Livy's account of this important legislation is disappointingly brief. It seems that custom had in the past established a sequence of offices and had regulated the intervals which should separate them. Yet such important questions as re-elections and tenure of two offices simultaneously had required legislative enactment in the past. Such principles as that the people should have the privilege of electing its favourites regardless of technicalities (XXXII. vii. 8–11; XXXIX. xxxix and the notes) had caused great confusion. The *lex Villia* established minimum ages for the several magistracies, thus fixing a definite sequence of offices (which developed gradually into the *cursus honorum*), and provided that two-year intervals should separate successive offices.

sought and held.[1] From this fact a *cognomen* was given B.C. 180
to his family, so that its members were called *Annales*. After many years[2] four praetors were chosen under the Baebian law, which provided that four should be chosen in alternate years.[3] The praetors so elected were Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, Gaius Valerius Laevinus and Quintus and Publius Mucius Scaevola, the sons of Quintus.

To Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius the consuls B.C. 179
the same province which their predecessors had held was decreed, with the same numbers of troops, infantry and cavalry, citizens and allies. In the two Spains the *imperium* of Tiberius Sempronius and Lucius Postumius was prolonged, and they were to keep the same armies which they had; and as replacements the consuls were ordered to enroll three thousand Roman infantry, three hundred cavalry, five thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy. Publius Mucius Scaevola received by lot the civil jurisdiction and also the duty of enquiring into cases of poisoning in the city and within a distance of ten miles from the city, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio that between citizens and aliens, Quintus Mucius Scaevola Sicily, Gaius Valerius Laevinus Sardinia.

Quintus Fulvius the consul said that before he brought up any matter of public business he wished to free himself and the state of an obligation to the

[2] In XXXII. xxvii. 6 Livy reports the election of six praetors for 197 B.C., and that this was the first instance of the election of six.

[3] The date and actual content of the Baebian law are unknown. It was not strictly observed and may have been soon repealed.

A.U.C. 575

9 solvendis dixit velle. Vovisse, quo die postremum cum Celtiberis pugnasset, ludos Iovi optimo maximo et aedem Equestri Fortunae sese facturum: in eam
10 rem sibi pecuniam collatam esse ab Hispanis. Ludi decreti et ut duumviri ad aedem locandam crearentur. De pecunia finitur ne maior ludorum causa[1] consumeretur quam quanta Fulvio Nobiliori post Aetoli-
11 cum bellum ludos facienti[2] decreta esset; neve quid ad eos ludos arcesseret cogeret acciperet faceret adversus id senatus consultum quod L. Aemilio Cn.
12 Baebio consulibus de ludis factum esset. Decreverat id senatus propter effus· · sumptus factos in ludos Ti. Sempronii aedilis, qui graves non modo Italiae ac sociis Latini nominis, sed etiam provinciis externis fuerant.

XLV. Hiems eo anno nive saeva et[3] omni tempestatum genere fuit: arbores quae obnoxiae frigoribus sunt, deusserat cunctas; et eadem ali-
2 quanto quam alias longior fuit. Itaque Latinas nox[4] subito coorta et intolerabilis tempestas in monte turbavit, instauratae que sunt ex decreto pontificum.
3 Eadem tempestas et in Capitolio aliquot signa prostravit[5] fulminibusque complura loca deformavit, aedem Iovis Tarracinae, aedem Albam[6] Capuae

[1] ludorum causa *Madvig*: causa ludorum *Mog.*
[2] facienti *Frob.* 35: faciendi *Mog.*
[3] nive saeva et *Frob.* 35: nive et saeva *Mog.*
[4] nox *Crévier*: mox *Mog.*
[5] prostravit *nescio quis apud Drakenborch*: constravit *Mog.*
[6] Albam *Frob.* 31: alue *Mog.*

[1] The contribution has not been mentioned; for the vow cf. xl. 10 above. The temple was in the neighbourhood of the *circus Flaminius* (Vitruvius III. iii. 2; Obsequens 16 (75)).

gods by fulfilling his vows. He had vowed, he said, on B.C. 179
the day when he had last fought with the Celtiberians, to give games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and a temple to Fortuna Equestris: for this purpose money had been collected for him by the Spaniards.[1] It was decreed that the games should be held and that two commissioners should be chosen to contract for the temple. As to the cost, the limit was set that a greater sum might not be spent for the games than the amount that had been decreed to Fulvius Nobilior[2] when he gave his games after the Aetolian war, and it was voted too that he should not invite, compel or accept contributions for these or do anything contrary to that decree of the senate which had been passed regarding games in the consulship of Lucius Aemilius and Gnaeus Baebius.[3] The senate had passed this decree because of the lavish expenditures made on games by Tiberius Sempronius the aedile, which had been a burden, not only on Italy and the allies of the Latin confederacy, but on outside provinces as well.[4]

XLV. The winter that year was cruel on account of snow and every kind of storm: it had completely blasted the trees which are affected by cold; and it lasted much longer than in other years. And so a darkness which came on suddenly and a violent tempest broke up the Latin festival on the mountain,[5] and the festival was repeated by decree of the pontiffs. The same storm also overthrew a number of statues on the Capitoline and disfigured many places with strokes of lightning—the temple of Jupiter at Tarracina, the

[2] Cf. XXXIX. v. 7–10 and the notes.
[3] The decree has not been mentioned.
[4] Livy has not referred to these games before.
[5] The Alban mountain: XXXII. i. 9 and the note.

A.U.C. 575

portamque Romanam; muri pinnae aliquot loci
4 decussae erant. Haec inter prodigia nuntiatum et ab
5 Reate tripedem natum mulum. Ob ea decemviri iussi adire libros edidere, quibus diis et quot hostiis sacrificaretur, et ut[1] supplicatio diem unum esset.
6 Ludi deinde votivi Q. Fulvii consulis per dies decem magno apparatu facti.

Censorum inde comitia habita: creati M. Aemilius Lepidus pontifex maximus et M. Fulvius Nobilior,
7 qui ex Aetolis triumphaverat. Inter hos viros nobiles inimicitiae erant, saepe multis et in senatu et ad po-
8 pulum atrocibus celebratae certaminibus. Comitiis confectis, ut traditum[2] antiquitus est, censores in Campo ad aram Martis sellis curulibus consederunt; quo repente principes senatorum cum agmine venerunt civitatis, inter quos Q. Caecilius Metellus verba fecit:

XLVI. "Non obliti sumus, censores, vos paulo ante ab universo populo Romano moribus nostris praepositos esse, et nos a vobis et admoneri et regi, non
2 vos a nobis debere. Indicandum tamen est quid omnes bonos in vobis aut offendat aut certe mutatum
3 malint.[3] Singulos cum intuemur, M. Aemili, M. Fulvi, neminem hodie in civitate habemus quem, si

[1] et ut *Madvig*: et fulminibus complura loca deformata aedem Iovis ut *Mog.*

[2] confectis ut traditum *Frob.* 31: confecti sunt traditus *Mog.*

[3] malint *Frob.* 31: malit *Mog.*

[1] Cf. XXXII. ix. 2.

[2] The same portent was reported from Reate in ii. 4 above; the present passage may be a doublet.

[3] Probably the consul of 206 B.C., and so a man of great age and dignity.

"White Temple"[1] and the Porta Romana at Capua, B.C. 179
where the parapets of the wall were thrown down in many places. Along with the other prodigies it was reported from Reate that a mule with three feet had been born.[2] On account of them the decemvirs, when ordered to consult the Books, issued a proclamation stating to which gods and with how many victims sacrifice should be offered, and directing that supplication should be offered for one day. Then the games which had been vowed by the consul Quintus Fulvius were held through ten days with great splendour.

Next the election of censors was held: the successful candidates were Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the *pontifex maximus*, and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed over the Aetolians. Between these distinguished men there was a feud, exhibited on many occasions, both in the senate and before the assembly, by numerous bitter quarrels. When the election was over the censors, as the custom was from olden times, took their seats on curule chairs by the altar of Mars in the Campus; thither suddenly came the chiefs of the senators, accompanied by a throng of citizens, and one of them, Quintus Caecilius Metellus,[3] spoke thus:

XLVI. "We have not forgotten, censors, that a little while ago you were placed, by the entire Roman people, in control of our manners, and that we should be both admonished and governed by you, not you by us. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out what it is in you two that offends all good men or at least what they would prefer to see modified. When we look at you singly, Marcus Aemilius and Marcus Fulvius, we find no one in the state to-day whom,

A.U.C. 575

revocemur in suffragium, velimus vobis praelatum
4 esse. Ambo cum simul aspicimus, non possumus
non[1] vereri, ne male comparati sitis, nec tantum rei
publicae prosit, quod omnibus nobis egregie placetis,
5 quam quod alter alteri displicetis, noceat. Inimi-
citias per annos multos vobis ipsis graves et atroces
geritis, quae periculum est ne ex hac die nobis et
6 rei publicae quam vobis graviores fiant. De quibus
causis hoc timeamus, multa succurrunt, quae dicer-
entur,[2] nisi forte implacabiles furores[3] implicaverint
7 animos vestros. Has ut hodie, ut in isto templo
finiatis simultates, quaesumus vos universi, et quos
coniunxit suffragiis suis populus Romanus, hos etiam
reconciliatione gratiae coniungi a nobis sinatis;
8 uno animo uno consilio legatis[4] senatum, equites
recenseatis, agatis censum, lustrum condatis; quod
in omnibus fere precationibus nuncupabitis[5]
9 " verbis ' ut ea res mihi collegaeque meo bene et
feliciter eveniat,' id ita ut vere, ut ex animo velitis
evenire, efficiatisque ut quod deos precati eritis,
10 id vos velle etiam homines credamus. T. Tatius et
Romulus, in cuius urbis medio foro acie hostes con-
11 currerant, ibi concordes regnarunt. Non modo simul-
tates sed bella quoque finiuntur: ex infestis hostibus
plerumque socii fideles, interdum etiam cives fiunt.

[1] non *Frob.* 31 : *om. Mog.*
[2] *post* dicerentur *lacunam susp. Heraeus.*
[3] furores *Madvig* : fueritis *Mog.*
[4] legatis *Frob.* 35 : eligatis *Mog.*
[5] nuncupabitis *Frob.* 35 : nuncupatis his *Mog.*

[1] I have tried to give a meaning to this passage, although corruption no doubt still remains. If there is a lacuna after *dicerentur*, an additional clause like "and which you would yourselves recognize" should be inserted at that point.

if we should be recalled to vote, we should wish to B.C. 179
have preferred to you. When we look at both of you
together, we cannot but fear that you may prove to
have been badly mated and that less good may come
to the state because you are so eminently pleasing to
all of us than harm because each of you displeases the
other. For many years you have been keeping alive
a feud, a serious and dreadful thing for you your-
selves, and there is danger that from this day it may
become more harmful to us and to the state than to
you. As to the reasons why we fear this, many occur
to me which might be mentioned were it not that
passions perhaps not to be appeased beset your minds.[1]
We one and all beg you to-day that in this conse-
crated spot you will end this quarrel, and that you
will permit those men whom the Roman people by
their votes has associated together, to be associated by
us in this restoration of good feeling also; that with
one mind and one policy you may choose the senate,
review the *equites*, hold the census and close the *lustrum*;
that what you will say in almost every prayer you
make, ' that this may turn out well and successfully
for me and for my colleague in office,' you will truly
and with all your hearts desire to be fulfilled, and that
you will so act that we men may believe that you also
desire that for which you have prayed to the gods.
Titus Tatius and Romulus, in whose city they had
clashed as enemies in battle in the middle of the
Forum, reigned there in harmony. Not merely feuds
but even wars draw to an end; many times from bitter
foes men become faithful allies, sometimes even fellow

A.U.C. 575

Albani diruta Alba Romam traducti sunt, Latini
12 Sabini in civitatem accepti. Volgatum illud, quia verum erat, in proverbium venit, amicitias immortales,
13 mortales [1] inimicitias debere esse." Fremitus ortus cum assensu, deinde universorum voces idem petentium confusae in unum orationem interpellarunt.
14 Inde Aemilius questus cum alia, tum bis [2] a M. Fulvio se certo consulatu deiectum: Fulvius contra queri se ab eo semper lacessitum et in probrum suum sponsionem factam. Tamen ambo significare, si alter vellet, se in potestate tot principum civitatis
15 futuros. Omnibus instantibus [3] qui aderant dexteras [4] fidemque dedere remittere vere ac finire odium. Deinde collaudantibus cunctis deducti sunt in Capitolium. Et cura [5] super tali re principum et facilitas censorum egregie comprobata ab senatu et
16 laudata est. Censoribus deinde postulantibus ut pecuniae summa sibi, qua in opera publica uterentur attribueretur,[6] vectigal annuum decretum est.

XLVII. Eodem anno in Hispania L. Postumius et

[1] mortales *Drakenborch*: *om. Mog.*
[2] alia tum bis *Frob.* 31: allatum vis *Mog.*
[3] instantibus *Frob.* 31: stantibus *Mog.*
[4] dexteras *Frob.* 31: dederant dexteras *Mog.*
[5] cura *ed. Basiliensis* 1555: cum *Mog.*
[6] attribueretur *Frob.* 31: *om. Mog.*

[1] The *sponsio* was a sort of wager at law, each of the parties agreeing that the loser in the contest should pay a stated sum to the winner. The incident here referred to has not been mentioned before, unless it was part of the episode narrated in XXXIX. iv.

[2] Livy has not mentioned a corresponding sum before. The censors of 169 B.C. received the revenue for half a year (XLIV. xvi. 9). There is no translation of the expression

citizens. The Albans when Alba was destroyed were B.C. 179
transferred to Rome, the Latins and the Sabines were received into citizenship. There was a common saying which had passed into a proverb because it was true, that our friendships should be immortal, but mortal our enmities." A roar of applause burst out, and then the speech was broken off by the voices of the whole crowd, demanding the same thing and merging into one sound. Then Aemilius complained both of other things and particularly because he had twice been kept by Marcus Fulvius from the consulship which was assured him; Fulvius on his side complained that he had always been harassed by Aemilius and that the *sponsio* had been proposed to his shame.[1] Nevertheless each stated that if the other was willing he was ready to put himself in the hands of all the leading men of the state. At the instance of all who were present, they sincerely exchanged hand-clasps and pledges, forgave one another, and ended their feud. After that, followed by the applause of all, they were escorted to the Capitoline. Both the interest of the leaders in such a situation and the readiness of the censors to yield were notably approved and lauded by the senate. Then, on the demand of the censors that the sum of money which they were to use on public works be assigned them, one year's revenue was decreed to them.[2]

XLVII. The same year the propraetors in Spain,

into definite figures until 62 B.C. (Plutarch, *Pompey*, 45), when one year's revenue amounted to 50,000,000 *denarii*. Frank (*Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore, 1933, I. 152–153) estimates the revenue in 179 B.C. as perhaps one-tenth of that sum. He further calculates that the *Basilica Aemilia* (li. 5 below) would have cost 12,000 *denarii*, so that a good deal could be done with 5,000,000 *denarii*.

A.U.C. 575

Ti. Sempronius propraetores comparaverunt ita inter se, ut in Vaccaeos per Lusitaniam iret Albinus, in Celtiberiam inde reverteretur; Gracchus, si maius ibi [1] bellum esset, in ultima Celtiberiae penetra-
2 ret. . . .[2] Mundam urbem primum vi cepit, nocte ex improviso aggressus. Acceptis deinde [3] obsidibus praesidioque imposito castella oppugnare, agros [4] urere, donec ad praevalidam aliam urbem—Certimam
3 appellant Celtiberi—pervenit. Ubi cum iam opera admoveret, veniunt legati ex oppido, quorum sermo antiquae simplicitatis fuit, non dissimulantium bella-
4 turos, si vires essent. Petierunt enim, ut sibi in castra Celtiberorum ire liceret ad auxilia accienda: [5] si non impetrassent, tum separatim ab [6] illis se consulturos. Permittente Graccho ierunt et post paucis diebus alios decem legatos secum adduxerunt.
5 Meridianum tempus erat. Nihil prius petierunt a praetore quam ut bibere sibi iuberet dari. Epotis primis poculis iterum poposcerunt, magno risu circumstantium in tam rudibus et moris omnis
6 ignaris ingeniis. Tum maximus natu ex iis " missi sumus " inquit " a gente nostra qui sciscitaremur
7 qua tandem re fretus arma nobis inferres." Ad hanc percunctationem Gracchus exercitu se egregio fidentem venisse respondit; quem si ipsi visere velint, quo certiora ad suos referant, potestatem se eis

[1] Gracchus si maius ibi *Gronovius*: si Gracchus maius sibi *Mog.*

[2] *lacunam indicavit Madvig.*

[3] *verba* urbem . . . deinde, *perverso ordine in Mog. scripta transp. Frob.* 35.

[4] agros *Frob.* 35: deinde agros *Mog.*

[5] accienda *Faber*: accipienda *Mog.*

[6] ab *Madvig*: eos ab *Mog.*

[1] It is not certain that a lacuna exists.

Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Sempronius, arranged between them that Albinus should proceed through Lusitania against the Vaccaei and then return to Celtiberia; that Gracchus, if there were a greater war there, should make his way into the furthermost part of Celtiberia. . . .[1] He first took by storm the city of Munda, attacking it unexpectedly by night. Then, accepting hostages and leaving a garrison, he captured fortresses and burned the countryside until he came to another very powerful town which the Celtiberians call Certima. There, just as he was moving up his siege-engines, ambassadors came from the town, whose speech had the ring of old-fashioned frankness, and they did not disguise the fact that they would fight to the end if they had the strength. For they asked that they might be permitted to go to the camp of the Celtiberians to summon aid; if they did not obtain it then they would consult by themselves and apart from the Celtiberians. When Gracchus granted this they departed and a few days later brought with them ten other ambassadors. It was the hour of noon. They asked nothing from the praetor at first, except that he should order that they be given something to drink. Having quaffed the first cups they asked for a second drink, to the accompaniment of great laughter on the part of the bystanders at such uncultured natures, ignorant of all etiquette. Then the eldest of them said: " We have been sent by our people to ascertain on what in the world it is that you rely in attacking us." To this question Gracchus replied that he came relying on an excellent army; if they wished to see it, in order to make a more trustworthy report to their people, he would give them the opportunity. He ordered the tribunes of

B.C. 179

A.U.C. 575

8 facturum esse. Tribunisque militum imperat ut ornari omnes copias peditum equitumque et decurrere iubeant[1] armatas. Ab hoc spectaculo legati dimissi[2] deterruerunt suos ab auxilio circumsessae
9 urbi ferendo. Oppidani cum ignes nocte e[3] turribus nequiquam, quod signum convenerat, sustulissent, destituti ab unica spe auxilii in deditionem venerunt.
10 Nummum quater et viciens ab iis est exactum, quadraginta nobilissimi equites, nec obsidum nomine—nam militare iussi sunt—, et tamen re ipsa ut pignus fidei essent.

XLVIII. Inde iam duxit ad Alcen urbem ubi castra Celtiberorum erant, a quibus venerant nuper legati.
2 Eos cum per aliquot dies, armaturam levem immittendo[4] in stationes, lacessisset parvis proeliis, in dies maiora certamina serebat, ut omnes extra munitiones
3 eliceret. Ubi quod petebat satis[5] sensit effectum, auxiliorum praefectis imperat ut contracto certamine, tamquam multitudine superarentur, repente tergis datis ad castra effuse fugerent; ipse intra vallum ad
4 omnes portas instruxit copias. Haud multum temporis intercessit, cum ex composito refugientium suorum agmen, post effuse sequentes barbaros
5 conspexit. Instructam ad hoc ipsum intra vallum habebat aciem. Itaque tantum moratus ut suos refugere in castra libero introitu sineret, clamore

[1] tribunisque . . . iubeant *Frob.* 35: tribunoque . . . iubeat *Mog.*
[2] dimissi *Duker*: missi *Mog.*
[3] nocte e *Duker*: nocte *Mog.*
[4] immittendo *Frob.* 35: mittendo *Mog.*
[5] satis *Novák*: is *Mog.*

the soldiers to command all the forces of infantry and B.C. 179
cavalry to equip themselves and to march in review under arms. After this spectacle the ambassadors were sent away and discouraged their people from sending aid to the besieged city. The townspeople, after vainly building fires on their towers at night, which had been the signal agreed upon, finding themselves destitute of their one hope of assistance, surrendered. Twenty-four thousand *nummi* were demanded of them, and forty of their noblest knights, not expressly as hostages—for they were ordered to do military duty[1]—yet in the very nature of the situation as a guarantee of loyalty.

XLVIII. From there he next led his troops to the town of Alce, where the camp of the Celtiberians lay from which the ambassadors had recently come. When he had harried them with skirmishes for some time, sending his light troops against their outposts, he was daily engaging in battle on a larger scale, that he might draw them all outside their defences. When he saw that what he was seeking had been sufficiently achieved, he ordered the commanders of the auxiliaries that, letting the conflict flag as if they were overcome by superior numbers, they should suddenly turn their backs and flee headlong to the camp; he himself formed his troops inside the rampart at all the gates. No long time passed when, as agreed, he saw the column of his own fugitives and behind them, pursuing in loose order, the barbarians. He had formed his line within the rampart for just this purpose. And so, waiting only long enough to allow his troops to escape into the camp through an

[1] The money was not tribute, since the forty *equites* were not hostages, and the status of the city is peculiar.

A.U.C. 575

sublato simul omnibus portis erupit. Non sustinuere
6 impetum necopinatum hostes. Qui ad castra oppugnanda venerant, ne sua quidem tueri potuerunt: nam extemplo fusi fugati, mox intra vallum paventes
7 compulsi, postremo exuuntur castris. Eo die novem milia hostium caesa; capti vivi trecenti viginti, equi centum duodecim, signa militaria triginta septem. De exercitu Romano centum novem ceciderunt.

XLIX. Ab hoc proelio Gracchus duxit ad depopulandam[1] Celtiberiam legiones. Et cum ferret passim cuncta atque ageret, populique alii voluntate alii metu iugum acciperent, centum tria oppida intra paucos dies in deditionem accepit, praeda potitus
2 ingenti est. Convertit inde agmen retro unde venerat ad Alcen, atque eam urbem oppugnare
3 institit. Oppidani primum impetum hostium sustinuerunt; deinde cum iam non armis modo sed etiam operibus oppugnarentur, diffisi praesidio urbis
4 in arcem universi concesserunt: postremo et inde praemissis oratoribus in dicionem[2] se suaque omnia Romanis permiserunt. Magna inde praeda facta est. Multi captivi nobiles in potestatem venerunt,
5 inter quos et Thurri filii duo et filia. Regulus hic earum gentium erat, longe potentissimus omnium Hispanorum. Audita suorum clade, missis qui fidem venienti in castra ad Gracchum peterent,
6 venit. Et primum quaesivit ab eo liceretne sibi[3]

[1] depopulandam *Gronovius*: depopulandum *Mog.*
[2] dicionem *Frob.* 35: deditionem *Mog.*
[3] liceretne sibi *Glareanus*: ne sibi liceret *Mog.*

[1] Polybius (XXVI. iv) puts the number at 300, causing Posidonius (in Strabo, III. iv. 14) to remark mockingly τοὺς πύργους καλοῦντα πόλεις.

open entrance, raising a shout he burst out from all the gates at once. The enemy did not withstand the unexpected attack. Those who had come to capture the camp could not even defend their own: for at once they were repulsed and routed, presently driven in terror within the rampart, and finally stripped of their camp. That day nine thousand of the enemy were killed; three hundred and twenty were taken alive, and a hundred and twelve horses and thirty-seven military standards were captured. Of the Roman army one hundred and nine fell. B.C. 179

XLIX. After this battle Gracchus led the legions to ravage Celtiberia. And while he was carrying and driving off everything everywhere and the tribes were submitting to the yoke, some voluntarily and others in fear, he received the surrender of a hundred and three[1] towns within a few days and gained an immense amount of booty. Then he turned the column back toward Alce whence he had come, and began to invest that town. The citizens sustained the first assault of the enemy; then, when they were now being attacked, not by arms alone, but also by siege-works, despairing of protecting the town they all retired to the citadel; finally even from there they sent ambassadors out to plead for them and entrusted themselves and all their possessions to the dominion of the Romans. Much booty was taken there. Many noble prisoners came into Roman hands, among them two sons and a daughter of Thurrus. He was the chieftain of these tribes and by far the most powerful man of all the Spaniards. After he had heard of the loss of his people he sent to ask for a safeguard if he came to the camp to see Gracchus, and then came. And first he asked whether it was permitted to him

A.U.C. 575

ac suis vivere. Cum praetor victurum respondisset, quaesivit iterum si cum Romanis militare liceret. 7 Id quoque Graccho permittente, " sequar " inquit " vos adversus veteres socios meos, quoniam illos arma pro me piguit suscipere." [1] Secutus est inde Romanos, fortique ac fideli opera multis locis rem Romanam adiuvit.

L. Ergavica inde, nobilis et potens civitas, aliorum circa populorum cladibus territa portas aperuit Ro- 2 manis. Eam deditionem oppidorum haud cum fide factam quidam auctores sunt: e qua regione abduxisset legiones, extemplo inde rebellatum, magnoque eum [2] postea proelio ad montem Chaunum cum Celtiberis a prima luce ad sextam horam diei signis 3 collatis pugnasse, multos utrimque cecidisse; nec aliud magnopere cur vicisse crederes fecisse [3] Romanos, nisi quod [4] postero die lacessierint [5] proelio 4 manentes intra vallum, spolia [6] per totum diem legisse; [7] tertio die proelio maiore iterum pugnatum et tum demum haud dubie victos Celtiberos castraque 5 eorum capta et direpta esse. Viginti duo milia hostium eo die esse caesa, plus trecentos captos, parem fere equorum numerum, et signa militaria septuaginta duo. Inde debellatum [8] veramque pacem, non fluxa ut ante fide Celtiberos fecisse.[9]

[1] arma pro me piguit suscipere *Heraeus*: ad me propiunt suspicere *Mog.*
[2] eum *Frob.* 35: *om. Mog.*
[3] cur vicisse crederes fecisse *Madvig*: berbice crederes fuisse *Mog.*
[4] quod *Gronovius*: qui *Mog.*
[5] lacessierint *Gronovius*: arcessierint *Mog.*
[6] spolia, *ante* intra *in Mog. positum, transp. Gronovius.*
[7] legisse *Frob.* 31: legisset *Mog.*
[8] debellatum *Frob.* 31: bellatum *Mog.*

and his children to live. When the praetor had re- B.C. 179 plied that he should live, he next asked whether it was permitted to serve with the Romans. When Gracchus granted this too, " I shall follow you, then," he said, " against my old allies, since they have disdained to take up arms for me." Thenceforth he followed the Romans, and with courageous and constant help aided the Roman cause in many places.

L. Ergavica next, a renowned and powerful city, having been terrified by the fall of other peoples around them, opened its gates to the Romans. Some writers say that these surrenders of towns were not made in good faith: that there was immediate rebellion in every region from which Gracchus had withdrawn his legions, and that later, in a great battle in the Chaunus mountains, he fought with the Celtiberians from daybreak to the sixth hour of the day in pitched battle with heavy losses on both sides; that the Romans gave no conspicuous indication which would lead one to believe that they were victorious except that the next day they harried the enemy, who remained within the rampart; that all through that day they collected spoils; that on the third day another and greater battle was fought and this time at length the Celtiberians were undoubtedly beaten and their camp taken and plundered. Twenty-two thousand of the enemy, these writers report, were killed that day and more than three hundred captured, together with an equal number of horses and seventy-two military standards. From that time, they say, the war was over and the Celtiberians kept true peace, not with wavering loyalty

[9] fecisse *Sigonius*: fuisse *Mog.*

A.U.C. 575

6 Eadem aestate et L. Postumium in Hispania ulteriore bis cum Vaccaeis egregie pugnasse scribunt: ad triginta et quinque milia hostium occidisse et castra
7 expugnasse.[1] Propius vero est serius in provinciam pervenisse quam ut ea aestate potuerit res gerere.

LI. Censores fideli concordia senatum legerunt.[2] Princeps lectus est ipse censor M. Aemilius Lepidus pontifex maximus: tres eiecti de senatu; retinuit
2 quosdam Lepidus a collega praeteritos. Opera ex pecunia attributa divisaque inter se haec fecerunt.[3] Lepidus molem ad Tarracinam, ingratum opus, quod praedia habebat ibi privatamque publicae rei impen-
3 sam inseruerat;[4] theatrum et proscaenium ad Apollinis, aedem Iovis in Capitolio, columnasque circa poliendas albo locavit; et ab his columnis, quae incommode opposita videbantur, signa amovit clipeaque de columnis et signa militaria adfixa omnis
4 generis dempsit. M. Fulvius plura et maioris

[1] expugnasse Gronovius: oppugnasse *Mog.*
[2] legerunt *Frob.* 31: elegerunt *Mog.*
[3] fecerunt *Madvig*: confecerunt *Mog.*
[4] inseruerat *Doujat*: insuerat *Mog.*

[1] Livy says nothing on his own authority about the campaigns of Postumius, and gives no reasons for his doubt of the accuracy of the accounts which he has just quoted. In his zeal to refute them he overlooks the fact that this was the second summer of Postumius in Spain, and that even in the first summer he had arrived there earlier than Gracchus (xxxix. 3 above).

[2] His predecessor Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who had died the preceding year (xlii. 6 above), had also been censor.

[3] *i.e.*, the colleague had been in favour of rejecting these men also, as indicated by his not having included them in the "approved" list. The agreement of the censors was necessary for expulsion.

as before. They write that in the same summer B.C. 179 Lucius Postumius also, in Farther Spain, twice fought successfully with the Vaccaei; that he had slain about thirty-five thousand of the enemy and taken their camp. It is nearer the truth to say that he came to the province too late to have been able to accomplish anything that summer.[1]

LI. The censors chose the senate faithfully and harmoniously. The *princeps senatus* selected was Marcus Aemilius Lepidus himself, a censor and the *pontifix maximus*;[2] three were expelled from the senate; Lepidus retained some who had been passed over by his colleague.[3] Public works, out of the money assigned and divided between them, they carried out as follows. Lepidus built a mole at Tarracina, a work which brought him censure because he owned property there and had included with expenditures chargeable to the state some private expenses; he contracted for a theatre and proscenium-building[4] at the temple of Apollo, and for the cleaning and whitening of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline and of the columns around it; and from these columns he removed the statues which seemed to be so placed as to obstruct the view, and he took down the shields from the columns and the military standards of every sort which were affixed to them. Marcus Fulvius contracted for

[4] By *theatrum* Livy means the auditorium (*cavea*), a common meaning of the Greek θέατρον. Perhaps the theatre was used only for the Apollo cult; if it was an actual theatre, it was the earliest of permanent character in Rome, although that distinction is usually given to the theatre of Pompey, erected more than a century later. This theatre may have been torn down by later censors, but the fact is not recorded.

A.U.C. 575

locavit usus: portum et pilas pontis in Tiberi, quibus pilis fornices post aliquot annos P. Scipio Africanus et L. Mummius censores locaverunt imponendos; basilicam post argentarias novas et forum piscatorium circumdatis tabernis quas vendidit in privatum; et [1] porticum extra portam Trigeminam, et aliam post navalia et ad fanum Herculis et post Spei ad Tiberim et ad [2] aedem Apollinis Medici. Habuere et in promiscuo praeterea [3] pecuniam: ex ea communiter locarunt aquam adducendam fornicesque faciendos. Impedimento operi fuit M. Licinius Crassus, qui per fundum suum duci non est passus. Portoria quoque et vectigalia iidem multa instituerunt. Complura sacella publicaque loca,[4] occupata a privatis, publica sacraque ut essent paterentque [5] populo curarunt. Mutarunt suffragia regionatimque generibus hominum causisque et quaestibus tribus discripserunt.[6]

[1] et *Ussing*: et forum et *Mog.*
[2] et ad *Dreller*: *om. Mog.*
[3] praeterea *Sigonius*: praetores *Mog.*
[4] loca *Madvig*: sua *Mog.*
[5] essent paterentque *Pighius*: paterent essentque *Mog.*
[6] discripserunt *Buecheler*: descripserunt *Mog.*

[1] It was probably near the bridge.

[2] The bridge is the *pons Aemilius*, finished by Scipio Aemilianus and Mummius in their censorship in 142 B.C. The single arch still standing in the river may belong to it.

[3] On the north side of the Forum. Originally called *basilica Fulvia* or *Aemilia et Fulvia*, its restorations by later Aemilii have caused it to be known as *basilica Aemilia*. For the earlier *basilica Porcia* cf. XXXIX. xliv. 7 and the note.

[4] It lay to the north of the basilica and was probably identical with the *macellum* of XXVII. xi. 16.

[5] If *et forum* should be read before *et porticum*, it may refer to the *forum Pistorum* below the Aventine, but information as to this is scanty.

additional works and of greater utility: a harbour [1] and the piles for a bridge over the Tiber, the piles on which many years later Publius Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius in their censorship contracted for the construction of arches,[2] a basilica behind the new shops of the silver-smiths [3] and a fish-market [4] with shops about it which he sold for private use; also a portico [5] outside the Porta Trigemina, and another behind the dock-yards, and near the shrine of Hercules, and behind the temple of Spes on the Tiber, and near the shrine of Apollo Medicus.[6] They had, besides, money in common: from this they let contracts in the names of both for the construction of an aqueduct and the erection of arches. This undertaking was blocked by Marcus Licinius Crassus, who would not permit the aqueduct to run across his property.[7] The same censors established many port-dues and taxes.[8] Many shrines and public places, occupied by private persons, they caused to be public and sacred and open to the people. They changed the method of voting and constituted the tribes according to districts and to the classes and situations and occupations of the members.[9] B.C. 179

[6] The temples of Spes and Apollo were probably in the region of the *forum Olitorium*, that of Hercules in the *forum Boarium*. The portico system then seems to connect the two districts where Fulvius was most active, that near the upper end of the island and that below the Aventine.

[7] Condemnation of private property for such purposes was not authorized. Nothing more seems to be known about this project, and it may have fallen through by reason of the opposition of Crassus.

[8] Particularly on public lands which were in private hands.

[9] Unfortunately, Livy is not explicit as to this reorganization, and we cannot go beyond speculation.

A.U.C. 575

LII. Et alter ex censoribus M. Aemilius petiit ab senatu ut sibi dedicationis causa [1] templorum reginae Iunonis et Dianae, quae bello Ligustino ante annis octo vovisset, pecunia ad ludos decerneretur. Viginti milia aeris decreverunt. Dedicavit eas aedes, utramque in circo Flaminio, ludosque scaenicos triduum post dedicationem templi Iunonis, biduum post Dianae, et singulos dies fecit in circo. Idem dedicavit aedem Larum [2] permarinum in Campo. Voverat eam annis undecim [3] ante L. Aemilius Regillus navali proelio adversus praefectos regis Antiochi. Supra valvas templi tabula cum titulo hoc fixa est: " Duello magno dirimendo, regibus subigendis,[4] patrandae pacis causa [5] haec pugna exeunti L. Aemilio M. Aemilii filio. . . .[6] Auspicio imperio felicitate ductuque eius inter Ephesum Samum Chiumque, inspectante eopse [7] Antiocho, exercitu omni, equitatu elephantisque, classis regis Antiochi antehac invicta [8] fusa contusa fugataque est, ibique eo die naves longae cum omnibus sociis captae quadraginta [9] duae. Ea pugna pugnata rex Antiochus regnumque.

[1] causa *Madvig*: *om. Mog.*
[2] Larum *Heraeus*: larium *Mog.*
[3] undecim *Sigonius*: quadraginta *Mog.*
[4] dirimendo regibus subigendis *Caesius Bassus, De re metr.* 8 (VI. 265 K): regibus dirimendo caput subigendis *Mog.*
[5] causa *H. J. Mueller*: *om. Mog.*
[6] *lacunam indicavit Madvig*: *vid. quae Anglice scripsi.*
[7] eopse *Ritschl*: cos. ipso *Mog.*
[8] invicta *Weissenborn*: sic victa *Mog.*
[9] quadraginta *Glareanus*: sexaginta *Mog.*

[1] Cf. XXXIX. ii. 8; 11 and the note.
[2] They had been more generous to Fulvius in 187 B.C. (XXXIX. v. 10).

LII. Moreover, one of the censors, Marcus B.C. 179 Aemilius, asked the senate that money should be assigned to him for the games in connection with the dedication of the temples which he had vowed to Queen Juno and Diana eight years before in the Ligurian war.[1] They voted twenty thousand *asses*.[2] He dedicated these temples, both in the *circus Flaminius*, and gave scenic games for three days after the dedication of the temple to Juno, two days in the case of Diana, and games in the circus for one day for each. He also dedicated a temple to the Lares of the Sea in the Campus.[3] Lucius Aemilius Regillus had vowed this eleven years before during the naval battle against the prefects of King Antiochus.[4] Above the doors of the temple a tablet was fixed bearing this inscription: " For finishing a great war, for subduing kings, this battle, fought for the purpose of winning peace, (gave victory) to Lucius Aemilius, the son of Marcus Aemilius, as he left the field.[5] Under his auspices and command, with his good fortune and generalship, in the area bounded by Ephesus, Samos and Chios, under the eyes of Antiochus himself, of all his army, his cavalry and his elephants, the fleet of King Antiochus, hitherto undefeated, was routed, shattered and put to flight, and there on that day forty-two ships[6] were taken with all their crews. As a result of the finishing of this battle King Antiochus was defeated and his naval empire (over-

[3] These divinities extended to mariners the protection offered to home-dwellers by the Lares of the household.
[4] The vow was not mentioned in XXXVII. xxix–xxx.
[5] I have tried merely to give a possible meaning to a defective sentence.
[6] Cf. XXXVII. xxx. 7 and the note.

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A.U.C. 575

. . .[1] Eius rei ergo aedem Laribus permarinis
7 vovit." Eodem exemplo tabula in aede Iovis in Capitolio supra valvas fixa est.

LIII. Biduo, quo senatum legerunt censores, Q. Fulvius consul profectus in Ligures, per invios montes Ballistae[2] saltus cum exercitu transgressus,
2 signis collatis cum hoste pugnavit: neque tantum acie vicit sed castra quoque eodem die cepit. Tria milia ducenti hostium omnisque ea regio Ligurum in
3 deditionem venit. Consul deditos in campestres agros deduxit, praesidiaque montibus imposuit. Celeriter et ex provincia litterae Romam venerunt: supplicationes ob eas res gestas in triduum decretae
4 sunt; praetores quadraginta hostiis maioribus per supplicationes rem divinam fecerunt. Ab altero consule L. Manlio nihil memoria dignum in Liguribus
5 est gestum. Galli Transalpini, tria milia hominum, in[3] Italiam transgressi, neminem bello lacessentes agrum a consulibus et senatu petebant ut pacati sub
6 imperio populi Romani essent. Eos senatus excedere Italia iussit et consulem Q. Fulvium quaerere et animadvertere in eos qui principes et auctores transcendendi Alpes fuissent.

LIV. Eodem anno Philippus rex Macedonum, senio et maerore consumptus post mortem filii,
2 decessit. Demetriade hibernabat, cum desiderio

[1] *lacunam indicavit Madvig.*
[2] Ballistae *Heraeus*: vallesque *Mog.*
[3] in *Frob.* 31: *om. Mog.*

[1] Again I have tried merely to give a plausible conclusion to an incomplete sentence.

[2] The form *fixa est* in sect. 5 leaves it uncertain whether Livy himself saw this inscription, especially since it recurs in sect. 7, and it is not likely that the Capitoline copy survived the fires.

thrown).[1] By reason of this victory he vowed a B.C. 179
temple to the Lares of the Sea."[2] A tablet to the same effect was set up in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline above the doors.

LIII. Two days after the censors chose the senate, Quintus Fulvius the consul set out against the Ligurians, making his way with his army across the pathless mountains and crossing the pass of Ballista, and fought a pitched battle with the enemy; he not only conquered them on the field but captured their camp the same day. Three thousand two hundred of the enemy and all this region of the Ligurians surrendered. The consul transferred the surrendered to lands in the plains[3] and set garrisons over the mountains. Quickly, too, dispatches from the province came to Rome; a thanksgiving for three days was decreed because of these successes, and the praetors sacrificed forty full-grown victims in the course of the thanksgiving. The other consul, Lucius Manlius, did nothing worth recording among the Ligurians. The transalpine Gauls, three thousand in number, crossing into Italy and harrying no one in war, asked land from the consuls and the senate, that they might live in peace under the rule of the Roman people. The senate ordered them to leave Italy, and instructed the consul Quintus Fulvius to search out and punish the leaders and proposers of the plan to cross the Alps.

LIV. The same year[4] Philip, king of the Macedonians, died, broken down by age and grief at the death of his son. He was wintering at Demetrias,

[3] That is, in their own territory.

[4] The narrative of affairs in the east is resumed after having been broken off at xxiv. 8 above.

A.U.C. 575

anxius filii, tum paenitentia crudelitatis suae. 3 Stimulabat [1] animum et alter filius haud dubie et sua et aliorum opinione rex, conversique in eum omnium oculi, et destituta senectus aliis exspectantibus suam 4 mortem, aliis ne exspectantibus quidem. Quo magis angebatur, et [2] cum eo Antigonus Echecratis filius, nomen patrui Antigoni ferens, qui tutor Philippi fuerat, regiae vir maiestatis, nobili etiam pugna adversus Cleomenem Lacedaemonium clarus. 5 Tutorem eum Graeci, ut cognomine a ceteris regibus 6 distinguerent, appellarunt. Huius fratris filius Antigonus ex honoratis Philippi amicis unus incorruptus permanserat, eique ea fides nequaquam amicum 7 Persea inimicissimum fecerat. Is prospiciens animo quanto cum periculo suo hereditas regni ventura [3] esset ad Persea, ut primum labare animum regis 8 et ingemiscere interdum filii desiderio sensit, nunc praebendo aures, nunc lacessendo etiam mentionem rei temere actae, saepe querenti querens et ipse aderat. Et cum multa, ut [4] adsolet, veritas praeberet [5] vestigia sui, omni ope adiuvabat, quo maturius 9 omnia emanarent. Suspecti ut [6] ministri facinoris Apelles maxime et Philocles erant, qui Romam legati

[1] stimulabat *Florebellus*: quae stimulabat *Mog.*
[2] et *Frob.* 35: *om. Mog.*
[3] regni ventura *Frob.* 35: ventura regni *Mog.*
[4] ut *Weissenborn*: *om. Mog.*
[5] praeberet *Weissenborn*: praebere *Mog.*
[6] ut *Bekker*: et *Mog.*

[1] Diodorus (XXIX. xxv) says of him: τῇ δὲ λύπῃ ἀδιορθώτως κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.
[2] Cf. XXXIV. xxviii. 1.
[3] Livy's *Tutor* does not really correspond to the Greek Δώσων; "always promising," which according to Plutarch *Coriolanus* 11 was given in mockery. (One is tempted to read *Daturum*, which would correspond, for *Tutorem*—E. H. Warmington.)

distressed both by longing for his son and by repent- B.C. 179
ance [1] of his own cruelty. His mind was further disturbed, firstly by his other son, who was already and beyond doubt the king, both in his own opinion and that of others, the eyes of all being turned upon him, secondly, by the loneliness of his own old age, since some were waiting for his death and others not even waiting for it. All this caused him the more distress, as it did to Antigonus the son of Echecrates, who bore the name of his uncle Antigonus, the guardian of Philip, a man of regal dignity, and renowned also for the famous battle against Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian.[2] The surname "the guardian" [3] was given him by the Greeks to distinguish him from the other of that name. The younger Antigonus, the son of his brother Echecrates, of all the friends whom Philip had honoured, alone remained uncorrupted, and this loyalty to Philip had made Perseus, under no circumstances a friend, a most deadly foe. Foreseeing in his mind with how great danger to himself the inheritance of the kingdom would fall to Perseus, as soon as he saw that the mind of the king was wavering and that he sometimes grieved at the loss of his son Demetrius, now by listening to him, now by even provoking him to talk of that rash act, with laments of his own he echoed the laments of Philip. And while the truth, as usually happens, was offering many foretokens of itself, he aided with all his might in bringing everything to light with greater speed. Suspicion had fallen particularly upon Apelles and Philocles as the instigators of the crime, since they had been the ambassadors to Rome and had brought

A.U.C. 575 fuerant litterasque exitiales Demetrio sub nomine Flaminini attulerant.

LV. Falsas esse et a scriba vitiatas signumque adulterinum vulgo in regia fremebant. Ceterum cum suspecta magis quam manifesta esset res, forte Xychus obvius fit Antigono, comprehensusque ab eo in regiam est perductus. Relicto eo custodibus Antigonus ad Philippum processit. "Multis" inquit "sermonibus intellexisse videor magno te aestimaturum, si scire vera omnia possis de filiis tuis, uter ab utro petitus fraude et insidiis esset. Homo unus omnium, qui nodum huius erroris exsolvere possit, in potestate tua est Xychus. Forte oblatum [1] perductumque in regiam vocari iube." Regi adductus primo ita negare inconstanter ut parvo metu admoto [2] paratum indicem esse appareret. Conspectum tortoris verberumque non sustinuit, ordinemque omnem facinoris legatorum ministeriique sui exposuit. Extemplo missi qui legatos comprehenderent, Philoclem qui praesens erat oppresserunt: Apelles missus ad Chaeream quendam persequendum [3] indicio Xychi audito in Italiam traiecit. De Philocle nihil certi vulgatum est: alii primo audaciter negantem,[4] postquam in conspectum adductus sit Xychus, non ultra tetendisse, alii tormenta etiam infitiantem perpessum affirmant.[5] Philippo redintegratus est

[1] oblatum *Faber*: vocatum *Mog.*
[2] admoto *Frob.* 31: amoto *Mog.*
[3] quendam persequendum *Frob.* 31: persequendum quendam *Mog.*
[4] negantem *Frob.* 31: negant *Mog.*
[5] affirmant *Frob.* 31: affirmabant *Mog.*

[1] Livy speaks as if the name of Xychus were familiar although he has not mentioned him before. He probably follows Polybius closely but omits a cross-reference.

the letter, fatal to Demetrius, which bore the name of Flamininus. B.C. 179

LV. That the letter was a forgery, the falsification of a scribe, and the seal a counterfeit, was the muttering of all the palace. But while the facts were suspected rather than established by proof, Xychus [1] by chance encountered Antigonus and was arrested by him and taken to the palace. Leaving him in the care of guards, Antigonus went to Philip and addressed him thus: "I seem to have understood from many conversations that you will value it highly if you can learn the whole truth about your sons, which of the two was attacked by the other with treachery and ambush. There is one man in all the world who can untie the knot of this uncertainty, and this man, Xychus, is in your hands. Since he happened to come in my way and has been by me brought to the palace, order him to be summoned." When Xychus was brought before the king, he at first denied everything so irresolutely that it was clear that he would be a ready witness under the stimulus of a little terror. He did not endure even the sight of the torturer and the lash, but set forth the whole sequence of events in the crime of the ambassadors and his own service in connection with it. At once men were sent out to arrest the ambassadors, and Philocles, who was at hand, was seized: Apelles, who had been sent in pursuit of a certain Chaereas, hearing of the testimony of Xychus, crossed to Italy. With regard to Philocles there is no certain information: some say that after boldly denying his guilt at first, when he was confronted with Xychus he did not hold out longer, others assert that he even suffered torture while still making denial. Philip's grief was

A.U.C. 575 luctus geminatusque; et infelicitatem suam in liberis graviorem quod alter superesset[1] censebat.

LVI. Perseus certior factus omnia[2] detecta esse, potentior quidem erat quam ut fugam necessariam 2 duceret: tantum ut procul abesset curabat, interim velut ab incendio flagrantis irae, dum Philippus viveret, se defensurus. Is[3] spe potiundi ad poenam corporis eius amissa, quod reliquum erat, id studere ne super impunitatem etiam praemio sceleris frueretur. 3 Antigonum[4] igitur appellat, cui et palam facti parricidii gratia obnoxius erat, et nequaquam[5] pudendum aut paenitendum eum regem Macedonibus propter recentem patrui Antigoni gloriam fore 4 censebat. "Quando in eam fortunam veni," inquit[5] "Antigone, ut orbitas mihi, quam alii detestantur parentes, optabilis esse debeat, regnum, quod a patruo tuo forti non solum fideli tutela eius custoditum et auctum etiam accepi, id tibi tradere in 5 animo est. Te unum habeo quem dignum regno iudicem. Se neminem haberem, perire et exstingui id mallem quam Perseo scelestae fraudis praemium esse. 6 Demetrium excitatum ab inferis restitutumque credam mihi, si te, qui morti innocentis, qui meo infelici errori unus illacrimasti, in locum eius 7 substitutum relinquam." Ab hoc sermone omni

[1] superesset *Sigonius*: perisset *Mog.*
[2] Perseus certior factus omnia *Frob.* 35: o. P. c. f. *Mog.*
[3] is *Weissenborn*: *om. Mog.*
[4] Antigonum *Frob.* 31: Antiochus eum *Mog.*
[5] nequaquam *Weissenborn*: neque *Mog.*

renewed and doubled; and he believed that his unhappiness in his children was the greater because the second remained. B.C. 179

LVI. When Perseus was informed that everything had been discovered he was indeed too strong to consider that flight was necessary: he arranged only to remain far away, being prepared to defend himself against the flames of burning anger while Philip lived. Philip, although disappointed in the hope of seizing his person for punishment, turned his attention to the course which was still open to him—of seeing to it that Perseus might not, in addition to impunity, also enjoy the profit of his crime. He therefore summoned Antigonus, to whom he was indebted in return for his having exposed the murder, and who, he believed, would be a king about whom the Macedonians need by no means be ashamed or abashed, on account of the recent fame of his uncle Antigonus. "Since I have come to such a state, Antigonus," he said, "that the bereavement which other parents try to avert cannot but seem to be a blessing, the kingdom which I received from your uncle, held in safe-keeping and even made still greater by his courageous and not merely loyal guardianship, it is in my mind to bequeath to you. I have you alone whom I judge to be worthy of the throne. If I had no one, I should prefer to have it perish and be destroyed to seeing it become for Perseus the reward of his criminal treachery. I shall believe that Demetrius is raised from the dead and restored to me if I shall leave you, who alone have wept at the death of an innocent man and for my unfortunate mistake, as a substitute for him." After saying this he did not cease to distinguish him

A.U.C 575

genere honoris producere eum non destitit. Cum in Thracia Perseus abesset, circumire Macedoniae urbes principibusque Antigonum commendare; et si vita longior suppetisset, haud dubium fuit quin eum in
8 possessione regni relicturus fuerit. Ab Demetriade profectus Thessalonicae plurimum temporis moratus fuerat. Inde cum Amphipolim venisset gravi morbo
9 est implicitus. Sed animo tamen aegrum magis fuisse quam corpore constat; curisque et vigiliis, cum identidem species et umbrae insontis interempti filii agitarent, extinctum esse cum diris execration-
10 ibus [1] alterius. Tamen admoveri potuisset Antigonus si aut adfuisset aut [2] statim palam facta esset mors
11 regis. Medicus Calligenes qui curationi praeerat, non expectata morte regis, a primis desperationis notis nuntios per dispositos equos,[3] ita ut convenerat misit ad Perseum, et mortem regis in adventum eius omnes qui extra regiam erant, celavit.

LVII. Oppressit igitur necopinantes ignarosque omnes Perseus et regnum scelere partum invasit.
2 Peropportuna mors Philippi fuit ad dilationem et ad vires bello subtrahendas.[4] Nam post paucis diebus gens Bastarnarum, diu sollicitata, ab suis sedibus

[1] agitarent extinctum esse cum diris execrationibus *Gronovius*: c. d. a. ext. es. exe. *Mog.*
[2] adfuisset aut *Perizonius*: haud *Mog.*
[3] equos *Sigonius*: *om. Mog.*
[4] subtrahendas *Madvig*: contrahendas *Mog.*

[1] Livy is probably thinking of such episodes in tragedy as the curse of Oedipus (Aeschylus, *Septem*, etc.).

[2] The meaning is uncertain. One naturally expects this to mean the war with Rome, since Livy has been so insistent that Philip would himself have begun the war had he lived a little longer, and no one would infer from Livy's narrative that the war did not actually break out until 171 B.C. The

with every mark of honour. While Perseus was ab- B.C. 179
sent in Thrace, Philip canvassed the cities of Macedonia and recommended Antigonus to the chiefs; and if longer life had been his lot there is no question that he would have left Antigonus in possession of the throne. Setting out from Demetrias, he had been delayed for a very long time at Thessalonica. When he had come from there to Amphipolis he was seized with a severe illness. But it is evident that his sickness was one of the mind rather than of the body; and that anxiety and loss of sleep, while again and again the shade and ghost of the innocent son whom he had killed pursued him, brought about his death while calling down dreadful curses upon his other son.[1] Nevertheless Antigonus could possibly have been advanced to the throne if he had been present or even if the death of the king had been made public at once. The physician Calligenes, who was in charge of his treatment, not anticipating the death of the king, at the first signs that the case was hopeless sent messengers to Perseus, as he had arranged to do, on relays of horses, and until his arrival concealed the death of the king from all who were outside the palace.

LVII. Thus Perseus caught everyone unprepared and ignorant, and grasped the sceptre which he had won by crime.

The death of Philip came at a fortunate time for delaying and for diverting strength from the war.[2] For a few days later the tribe of the Bastarnae,[3] after long solicitation, left their homes and with a great

episode of the Bastarnae (note particularly the introductory *nam*) which follows seems an insufficient cause for so long a delay, and one is tempted to think that Livy was so conscious of the tragic quality of the action that he, like the tragic poet, could ignore the passage of time.

[3] Cf. v. 10 above.

A.U.C. 575

magna peditum equitumque manu Histrum traiecit. 3 Inde praegressi qui nuntiarent regi, Antigonus et Cotto: Cotto [1] nobilis erat Bastarna, Antigonus [2] e regiis unus, saepe [3] cum ipso Cottone legatus ad concitandos Bastarnas missus. Haud procul Amphipoli fama inde [4] certi nuntii occurrerunt mortuum esse regem. Quae res omnem ordinem consilii turbavit. 4 Compositum autem sic fuerat transitum per Thraciam tutum et commeatus Bastarnis ut Philippus praestaret.[5] Id ut facere posset regionum principes donis coluerat, fide sua obligata pacato agmine transituros 5 Bastarnas. Dardanorum gentem delere propositum erat inque eorum agro sedes dare [6] Bastarnis. 6 Duplex inde erat commodum futurum, si et Dardani, gens semper infestissima Macedoniae temporibusque iniquis regum imminens, tolleretur, et Bastarnae relictis in Dardania coniugibus liberisque ad populandam 7 Italiam possent mitti. Per Scordiscos iter esse ad mare Hadriaticum Italiamque; alia via traduci exercitum non posse. Facile Bastarnis Scordiscos iter

[1] Cotto *Weissenborn*: *om. Mog.*
[2] Antigonus *Madvig*: ea res Antigonus *Mog.*
[3] saepe *Heraeus*: saepe Iunius *Mog.*
[4] inde certi *Drakenborch*: incerti *Mog.*
[5] praestaret *Frob.* 35: daret *Mog.*
[6] sedes dare *Frob.* 31: se fundare *Mog.*

[1] Not the Antigonus whom Philip had planned to make his heir.

[2] It is perhaps easiest to visualize the geographical background by the use of modern place-names, so far as possible. The Bastarnae lived in what is now Bessarabia, on the Euxine north of the Danube delta. Philip planned to march them through northern Bulgaria, thence perhaps by the Morava valley to the Danube and west by the Danube and Save

number of infantry and cavalry crossed the Hister. B.C. 179 Thence Antigonus [1] and Cotto came on in advance to bring the word to the king: Cotto was a nobleman among the Bastarnae, Antigonus one of Philip's courtiers who had often been sent with Cotto himself to stir up the Bastarnae. When they were not far from Amphipolis, first the rumour and then the authenticated tidings of the death of the king reached them. This event wholly upset the ordered plan of Philip. But it had been so arranged that Philip was to guarantee to the Bastarnae a safe passage through Thrace and also supplies. In order that he might be able to accomplish this, he had cultivated the chiefs of these districts with gifts, pledging his word that the Bastarnae would cross their territories peaceably. It had been his intention to destroy the race of the Dardanians and to give the Bastarnae homes on their lands. From this policy there was a double advantage if, in the first place, the Dardanians, a people always most hostile to Macedonia and watchful for occasions unfavourable to the kings, should be destroyed, and, secondly, if the Bastarnae, leaving their wives and children in Dardania, could be sent to plunder Italy. There was a road, he knew, through the country of the Scordisci to the Adriatic sea and Italy; an army could not be led by any other way.[2] The Scordisci

valleys to the country of the Scordisci, west of Belgrade. From there the Save valley with its continuations leads to Fiume, near the head of the Adriatic. The Dardani, among whom homes for them were to be found, lived in or to the east of the Morava valley. From the standpoint of the Bastarnae, a route following the Danube and Save would have been shorter, but then they would have had no contact with Philip. Some sound geographical knowledge, then, underlies Philip's grandiose plan.

A.U.C. 575

daturos: nec enim aut lingua aut moribus [1] abhorrere; et ipsos adiuncturos se, cum ad praedam opulentissimae gentis ire vidissent. Inde in omnem
8 eventum consilia accommodabantur: [2] sive caesi ab Romanis forent Bastarnae, Dardanos tamen sublatos praedamque ex reliquiis Bastarnarum et possessionem
9 liberam Dardaniae solacio fore; sive prospere rem [3] gessissent, Romanis aversis [4] in Bastanarum bellum recuperaturum se in Graecia quae amisisset. Haec Philippi consilia fuerant.

LVIII. Primum ingressi sunt pacato agmine. Digressu [5] deinde Cottonis et Antigoni et haud multo post fama mortis Philippi neque Thraces commercio faciles erant, neque [6] Bastarnae empto contenti [7] esse poterant aut in agmine contineri ne decederent
2 via. Inde iniuriae ultro citroque fieri, quarum in dies incremento bellum exarsit. Postremo Thraces cum vim ac multitudinem sustinere hostium non possent, relictis campestribus vicis in montem ingentis altitudinis—Donucam vocant—concesserunt. Quo cum
3 subire [8] Bastarnae vellent, quali tempestate Gallos spoliantes Delphos fama est peremptos esse, talis tum Bastarnas nequiquam ad iuga montium appropin-

[1] moribus *Duker*: moribus aequales *Mog.*
[2] accommodabantur *Sigonius*: commodabantur *Mog.*
[3] rem *Gronovius*: *om. Mog.*
[4] aversis *Frob.* 31: reversis *Mog.*
[5] primum ingressi sunt pacato agmine. digressu *Madvig*: digressi sunt pacato agro *Mog.*
[6] neque *Frob.* 31: *om. Mog.*
[7] empto contenti *Frob.* 31: evito contentio *Mog.*
[8] cum subire *Weissenborn*: ubi ire *Mog.*

[1] The Bastarnae were Germanic, the Scordisci Gallic, but either Philip or Livy may have been misinformed on that point.

would readily give a passage to the Bastarnae: for B.C. 179
they were not very different in either language or manners;[1] and they themselves would join forces with them when they saw the Bastarnae going to plunder a most wealthy people. From that point his plans were adapted to any issue: if the Bastarnae were cut to pieces by the Romans, yet the removal of the Dardani and the booty from the remnants of the Bastarnae and the unhindered occupancy of Dardania would be his consolation; if on the other hand success attended their venture, while the attention of the Romans was distracted to the war with the Bastarnae Philip would recover his lost possessions in Greece.[2] This was the plan of Philip.

LVIII. At first the Bastarnae marched with their column peacefully inclined. Then, after the departure of Cotto and Antigonus and, not much later, after the receipt of the news of the death of Philip, neither were the Thracians easy to negotiate with nor could the Bastarnae be satisfied with what they could buy nor could they be kept in column without leaving the line of march. In consequence injuries were inflicted on both sides, and as these increased day by day war flared up. Finally, when the Thracians were unable to withstand the strength and numbers of the enemy, leaving the villages in the plains they fell back to a mountain of great height—they call it Donuca. When the Bastarnae tried to climb it, they were caught, as they attempted in vain to scale the heights of the mountains, by such a storm as that which, as the story goes, destroyed the Gauls as

[2] Philip then stood to gain heavily in any case, with nothing but the trifling investment necessary to purchase the right of way through Thrace.

A.U.C. 575

4 quantes oppressit. Neque enim imbre tantum effuso, dein creberrima grandine obruti sunt cum ingenti fragore caeli tonitribusque et fulguribus praestrin-
5 gentibus aciem oculorum, sed fulmina etiam sic undique micabant ut peti viderentur corpora, nec solum milites sed etiam principes icti caderent.
6 Itaque cum praecipiti fuga per rupes praealtas improvidi sternerentur ruerentque, instabant quidem perculsis Thraces, sed ipsi deos auctores fugae esse
7 caelumque in se ruere aiebant. Dissipati procella cum [1] tamquam ex naufragio plerique [2] semermes in castra, unde profecti erant, redissent, consultari quid agerent coeptum. Inde orta dissensio, aliis redeundum aliis penetrandum in Dardaniam censen-
8 tibus; triginta ferme milia hominum Clondico duce quo [3] profecti erant pervenerunt, cetera multitudo retro qua venerat Apolloniam Mesembriamque [4] repetit. Perseus potitus regno interfici Antigonum iussit; et dum firmaret res, legatos Romam ad amicitiam paternam renovandam petendumque ut rex ab senatu appellaretur misit. Haec eo anno in Macedonia gesta.

LIX. Alter consulum Q. Fulvius ex Liguribus triumphavit; quem triumphum magis gratiae quam rerum gestarum magnitudini datum constabat.
2 Armorum hostilium magnam vim transtulit, nullam

[1] procella cum *Frob.* 31 : procellarum *Mog.*
[2] plerique *Frob.* 31 : proeliique se *Mog.*
[3] quo *Madvig* : *om. Mog.*
[4] Mesembriamque *Heraeus* : meridianam *Mog.*

[1] Cf. Justin XXIV. viii. 9–10.
[2] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* I. iv. 8; ἔφασαν (οἱ Κέλτοι) δεδιέναι μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι.
[3] These cities were on the Thracian coast of the Euxine.
[4] The Antigonus whom Philip had chosen as his successor.

they pillaged Delphi.[1] For not merely were they B.C. 179
assailed with a deluge of rain and then masses of hail, along with tremendous crashes in the sky and thunders and lightning-flashes blinding their eyes, but also the bolts flashed all about them so that they seemed to be aiming at human beings, and not only the common soldiers but even the chieftains fell stricken on the ground. So when in headlong flight in their blindness they were rushing about and falling over lofty cliffs, the Thracians too came upon them in their panic, but they themselves said that the gods were the causes of their flight and that the skies were falling upon them.[2] Scattered by the tempest, as if after a shipwreck, when many of them, half-armed, had returned to the camp whence they had set out, they began to consider what they should do. Then a disagreement arose, some thinking that they should return home, others that they should make their way into Dardania; about thirty thousand men, under the command of Clondicus, arrived at the place for which they had set out, the rest of the population returned to Apollonia and Mesembria[3] by the way they had come. Perseus, having gained the throne, ordered Antigonus[4] to be put to death; and until he could strengthen his position he sent ambassadors to Rome to renew his father's friendship and to ask that he be called king by the senate. Such were the events of the year in Macedonia.

LIX. One of the consuls, Quintus Fulvius, triumphed over the Ligurians; this triumph was clearly due to influence rather than to the greatness of his achievements.[5] He carried in the triumph a great quantity of arms taken from the enemy,

[5] Cf. the note to xliii. 4 above.

A.U.C. 575

pecuniam admodum. Divisit tamen in singulos milites trecenos aeris, duplex centurionibus, triplex
3 equiti. Nihil in eo triumpho magis insigne fuit quam quod forte evenit, ut eodem die triumpharet
4 quo priore anno ex praetura triumphaverat. Secundum triumphum comitia edixit, quibus creati consules
5 sunt M. Iunius Brutus A. Manlius[1] Volso. Praetorum inde tribus creatis comitia tempestas diremit. Postero die reliqui tres facti, ante diem quartum idus Martias, M. Titinius Curvus[2] Ti. Claudius Nero
6 T. Fonteius Capito. Ludi Romani instaurati ab aedilibus curulibus Cn. Servilio Caepione Ap. Claudio
7 Centone propter prodigia, quae evenerant. Terra movit; in fanis[3] publicis, ubi lectisternium erat, deorum capita quae in lectis erant averterunt se,
8 lanxque[4] cum integumentis quae Iovi apposita[5] fuit, decidit de mensa. Oleas quoque praegustasse mures in prodigium versum est. Ad ea expianda nihil ultra quam ut ludi instaurarentur actum est.

[1] A. Manlius *Frob.* 31 : A. Attilius *Mog.*
[2] Curvus *Frob.* 35 : *om. Mog.*
[3] fanis *Duker* : foris *Mog.*
[4] lanxque *Cuper* : lanaque *Mog.*
[5] apposita *Sigonius* : opposita *Mog.*

but practically no money. Still he distributed to the B.C. 179 soldiers three hundred *asses* each to the infantry, twice that sum to the centurions and thrice to the cavalry. Nothing in the triumph was more noteworthy than that it happened to occur on the same day on which, in the previous year, he had triumphed after his praetorship. After the triumph he announced the elections, at which Marcus Junius Brutus and Aulus Manlius Volso were chosen consuls. The election of praetors, after three had been chosen, was broken up by a storm.[1] The following day, this being the fourth day before the Ides of March, the other three were elected, Marcus Titinius Curvus, Tiberius Claudius Nero, Titus Fonteius Capito. The *ludi Romani* were repeated by the curule aediles, Gnaeus Servilius Caepio and Appius Claudius Cento, by reason of the prodigies which had occurred. The earth shook; in the shrines of the gods, when the *lectisternium* was being held, the heads of the gods who were on the couches turned away, and the platter with its lids which had been set before Jupiter fell from the table. It was also interpreted as a portent that the mice tasted the olives.[2] To make atonement for them, nothing else was done than to repeat the Games.

[1] Livy omits to mention the first three praetors (under the *lex Baebia* this was the year for six praetors). The names of T. Aebutius and another M. Titinius can be recovered from XLI. vi. 5 and ix. 3 respectively. The sixth may have been P. Aelius Ligur.
[2] Cf. XXVII. xxiii. 2.

LIBRI XL PERIOCHA

Cum Philippus liberos eorum quos in vinculis habebat nobilium hominum conquiri ad mortem iussisset, Theoxena, verita pro liberis suis admodum pueris regis libidinem, prolatis in medium gladiis et poculo in quo venenum erat, suasit his ut imminens ludibrium morte effugerent, et cum persuasisset et ipsa se interemit. Certamina inter filios Philippi, Macedoniae regis, Persen et Demetrium, referuntur; et ut fraude fratris sui Demetrius fictis criminibus, inter quae[1] accusatione parricidii et affectati regni,[2] primum petitus, ad ultimum, quoniam populi R. amicus erat, veneno necatus est, regnumque Macedoniae mortuo Philippo ad Persen venit. Item res in Liguribus et Hispania contra Celtiberos feliciter gestas continet. Colonia Aquileia deducta est. Libri Numae Pompili in agro L. Petili scribae sub Ianiculo a[3] cultoribus agri arca lapidea clusi inventi sunt et Graeci et Latini. In quibus cum pleraque[4] dissolvendarum religionum praetor ad quem delati erant legisset, iuravit senatui contra rem p. esse ut legerentur servarenturque. Ex S.C. in comitio exusti sunt. Philippus aegritudine animi confectus, quod Demetrium filium falsis[5] Persei, alterius filii, in eum delationibus impulsus veneno sustulisset, et de poena Persei cogitavit voluitque Antigonum potius amicum suum successorem regni sui relinquere, sed in hac cogitatione morte raptus est. Perseus regnum excepit.

[1] inter que P^2 : inter quem P : inter * * * * quem N : interiit qui N^2.
[2] affectati regni *Frobenius* : affectatione NP.
[3] a *edd.* : *om.* NP.
[4] pleraque *Jahn* : plura quae *codd.*
[5] falsis *edd.* : falsi *codd.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XL

When Philip ordered that the children of the noblemen whom he had in prison should be sought out to be put to death, Theoxena, fearing for her children, who were still young, the lust of the king, placing before them swords and a cup which contained poison, advised them to escape by death the outrage which now threatened them, and when she had persuaded them she also slew herself. The rivalries between Perseus and Demetrius, the sons of Philip, king of Macedonia, are related; and how, by the treachery of his brother and on false charges, among them a charge of parricide and of an attempt to seize the throne, Demetrius was first accused and finally, since he was friendly to the Roman people, put to death by poison, and the kingdom of Macedonia, on the death of Philip, went to Perseus. The book also contains the events among the Ligurians and the victories over the Celtiberians in Spain. The colony of Aquileia was founded. The books of Numa Pompilius, locked up in a stone chest, written in both Greek and Latin, were found by the husbandmen on the property of Lucius Petilius, a public clerk, at the foot of the Janiculan. Since in them there were many things subversive of religion, the praetor to whom they had been turned over, after reading them, gave his oath to the senate that it was against the public interest that they should be read and preserved. Under a decree of the senate they were burned in the *comitium*. Philip, overcome by grief of mind, because he had killed by poison his son Demetrius, in consequence of false information laid against him by his other son Perseus, both planned for the punishment of Perseus and wished to leave his friend Antigonus preferably as the successor to the throne, but in the midst of this planning was carried off by death. Perseus received the kingdom.

BOOK XLI

LIBER XLI

A.U.C. 576

I. . . .[1] a patre in pace habitam armasse eoque iuventuti praedandi cupidae pergratus esse dicebatur. Consilium de Histrico bello cum haberet consul, alii gerendum extemplo, antequam contrahere copias hostes possent, alii consulendum prius senatum censebant. Vicit sententia quae diem non profere-
2 bat. Profectus ab Aquileia consul castra ad lacum Timavi posuit; imminet mari is lacus. Eodem decem navibus C. Furius duumvir navalis venit.
3 Adversus Illyriorum classem creati duumviri navales erant, qui tuendae[2] viginti navibus maris superi

[1] *initium codicis deest.*
[2] tuendae *Muretus*: tuendam *Fr.*

[1] The loss of the first two quaternions of V, the only manuscript containing these books (the second, which contained the text from i. 1 to *edic.* in ix. 10 was lost between 1531 and 1669, see the Preface), has deprived us of the beginning of Book XLI. Comparison with the *Periocha* shows that a relatively large number of topics was treated in the lost chapters. The details which I add in the translation have been derived from Florus I. xxvi. (II. x.); I have added only enough to give the sentence a possible grammatical construction.

[2] For earlier dealings with the Histrians, cf. XXXIX. lv. 4; XL. xxvi. 3.

BOOK XLI

I. . . . Aepulo[1] was said to have armed a people B.C. 178 which had been kept in peace by his father and thus to have won great favour with the youth, who were desirous of plundering. When a council regarding a war with the Histrians[2] was held by the consul,[3] some argued that it should be begun at once, before the enemy should be able to draw his forces together, others that the senate should first be consulted.[4] That opinion prevailed which proposed no delay. The consul, setting out from Aquileia, encamped near the lake of Timavus; this lake lies close to the sea. Gaius Furius,[5] the *duumvir navalis*, came to the same place with a fleet of ten ships. To oppose the fleet of the Illyrians *duumviri navales* had been elected, who, with twenty ships to protect the coast of the upper[6]

[1] A. Manlius Volso (XL. lix. 4); his appointment to Gaul has not been mentioned, but was probably reported in a lost chapter.

[2] There is no record of a declaration of war against the Histrians, except as one may be implied in XL. xxvi. 3. Florus (*l.c.*) says that they had earlier assisted the Aetolians. Technically Manlius should have consulted the senate before proceeding against them, since their territory lay outside his province: cf. vii. 7 below.

[5] His choice in this capacity has not been mentioned before.

[6] The Adriatic.

A.U.C. 576

orae[1] Anconam velut cardinem haberent; inde L. Cornelius dextra litora usque ad Tarentum, C. 4 Furius laeva usque ad Aquileiam tueretur. Eae naves ad proximum portum in Histriae fines cum onerariis et magno commeatu missae, secutusque cum legionibus consul quinque ferme milia a mari 5 posuit castra. In portu emporium brevi perfrequens factum omniaque hinc in castra supportabantur. Et, quo id tutius fieret, stationes ab 6 omnibus castrorum partibus circumdatae sunt: in Histriam versum[2] praesidium stativum, repentina cohors Placentina opposita; inter mare et castra et ut idem aquatoribus ad fluvium esset praesidium, M. Aebutius tribunus militum secundae legionis 7 duos manipulos militum ducere[3] iussus est; T. et C. Aelii tribuni militum legionem tertiam, quae pabulatores et lignatores tueretur, via quae Aquile- 8 iam fert duxerant. Ab eadem regione mille ferme passuum castra erant Gallorum: Catmelus regulus praeerat[4] tribus haud amplius milibus armatorum.

II. Histri, ut primum ad lacum Timavi castra Romana sunt[5] mota, ipsi post collem occulto loco 2 consederunt, et inde obliquis itineribus agmen sequebantur, in omnem occasionem intenti; nec quicquam eos quae terra marique agerentur fallebat.

[1] superi orae *Muretus*: superiore *Fr.*
[2] Histriam (Istriam) versum *J. F. Gronovius*: Histriamque suum *Fr.*
[3] ducere *Weissenborn*: adiicere *Fr.*
[4] regulus praeerat *Madvig*: pro regulo erat *Fr.*
[5] Romana sunt *Novák*: sunt romana *Fr.*

[1] Cf. XL. xvii. 8 and the note.
[2] Cf. XL. xlii. 8.

sea, were to make Ancona the hinge or pivot,[1] so B.C. 178 to speak; thence Lucius Cornelius[2] was to defend the coast to the right as far as Tarentum, Gaius Furius the coast to the left as far as Aquileia. These ships were sent to the nearest harbour in Histrian territory with transports and a large quantity of supplies, and the consul, following with the legions, encamped about five miles from the sea. In a short time a market, visited by throngs, was established at the harbor, and from there everything was transported to the camp. And in order that this might be done in greater safety, outposts were established on all sides of the camp: facing Histria there was a permanent post, and an emergency cohort from Placentia stationed there; to a position between the sea and the camp, with the additional mission of protecting water-carriers at the river, Marcus Aebutius, military tribune of the second legion, was ordered to bring two maniples of his troops; Titus and Gaius Aelius, tribunes of the soldiers, had led the third legion, which was to guard the parties searching for forage and wood, on the road which leads to Aquileia. In the same area, about a mile distant, was the camp of the Gauls:[3] their chief, Catmelus, was in command of not more than three thousand armed men.

II. The Histrians, as soon as the Romans had moved their camp to the lake of Timavus, themselves took up a hidden position in a spot behind a hill, and thence over byways followed the line of march, prepared for any opportunity; nor did anything that took place on land or sea escape their observation.

[3] Gallic auxiliaries of the Romans: cf. v. 9 below.

A.U.C. 576

3 Postquam stationes invalidas esse pro castris, forum[1] turba inermi[2] frequens inter castra et mare mercantium sine ullo terrestri aut maritimo munimento viderunt, duo simul praesidia, Placentinae cohortis et manipulorum secundae legionis, aggrediuntur. 4 Nebula matutina texerat inceptum; qua dilabente ad primum teporem solis, perlucens iam aliquid, incerta tamen ut solet lux speciem omnium multiplicem intuenti reddens, tum quoque frustrata Romanos, multo maiorem iis quam erat hostium 5 aciem ostendit. Qua territi utriusque stationis milites ingenti tumultu cum in castra confugissent, haud paulo ibi plus quam quod secum ipsi attulerant, 6 terroris fecerunt. Nam neque dicere quid fugissent nec percunctantibus reddere responsum poterant; et clamor in portis, ut ubi nulla esset statio quae sustineret impetum, audiebatur; et concursatio in obscuro incidentium aliorum in alios incertum 7 fecerat an hostis intra vallum esset. Una vox audiebatur ad mare vocantium; id forte temere ab uno exclamatum totis passim personabat castris. 8 Itaque primo, velut iussi id facere, pauci, armati alii,[3] maior pars inermes, ad mare decurrunt, dein plures, postremo prope omnes, et ipse consul, cum frustra revocare fugientes conatus nec imperio nec auctoritate nec precibus ad extremum valuisset.

[1] forum *Scaliger*: eorum *Fr.*
[2] inermi *J. F. Gronovius*: inermis *Fr.*
[3] alii *add. Weissenborn.*

When they saw that the outposts in front of the B.C. 178 camp were weak, and that the market, filled with an unarmed throng trafficking between the camp and the sea, was provided with no protection on land or on water, they at the same time attacked the two outguards, the cohort from Placentia and the maniples of the second legion. A morning fog had concealed their enterprise; and as this cleared away before the first warmth of the sun, the light now penetrating it to some extent, but as yet, as is usual, not clear and furnishing the beholder a magnified impression of everything, at this time also deceived the Romans and revealed to them a battle-line of the enemy far stronger than it really was. When the soldiers from both outposts, terrified by this sight, had fled to the camp with mighty uproar they caused far more panic there than they had brought with them. For they could neither explain from what they had fled nor answer any persons who questioned them; and some shouting at the gates was heard, showing that no guards were there to withstand an assault; and the rushing about in the dark, as one man collided with another, had made it uncertain whether or not the enemy was inside the rampart. One voice was heard, that of men calling them to the sea; this cry, perhaps raised without design by a single man, rang everywhere through the whole camp. And so a few at first, as if they had been ordered to do this, some armed, the majority unarmed, rushed down to the sea, then larger numbers, finally almost all of them, and even the consul, when, trying in vain to recall the fugitives, he had failed at the end to accomplish anything by orders or authority or entreaties. One man alone remained, Marcus

A.U.C. 576

9 Unus remansit M. Licinius Strabo, tribunus militum tertiae legionis, cum tribus signis ab legione sua relictus. Hunc in vacua castra impetu facto Histri, cum alius armatus iis nemo obviam isset, in praetorio instruentem atque adhortantem suos oppresserunt. 10 Proelium atrocius quam pro paucitate resistentium fuit, nec ante finitum est quam tribunus militum quique circa eum constiterant interfecti sunt. 11 Praetorio deiecto direptisque,[1] quae ibi fuerunt, ad quaestorium, forum quintanamque hostes perven- 12 erunt. Ibi cum omnium rerum paratam expositam- que copiam et stratos lectos in quaestorio invenissent, 13 regulus accubans epulari coepit. Mox idem ceteri omnes, armorum hostiumque obliti, faciunt; et ut quibus insuetus liberalior victus esset avidius vino ciboque corpora onerant.

III. Nequaquam eadem est tum rei forma apud Romanos; terra mari trepidatur; nautici tabernacula detendunt commeatumque in litore expositum in 2 naves rapiunt; milites in scaphas et mare territi ruunt; nautae metu ne compleantur navigia, alii turbae obsistunt, alii ab litore naves in altum expel- 3 lunt. Inde certamen, mox etiam pugna cum vulneribus et caede in vicem militum nautarumque oritur, donec iussu consulis procul a terra classis

[1] direptisque *Drakenborch*: direptis *Fr.*

[1] This street lay in the south-west quadrant of the camp. Along it were booths for the sale of stores.

[2] I.e., for a banquet. Discipline in the camp was not very strict.

Licinius Strabo, military tribune of the third legion, B.C. 178 having along with three companies been left behind by his legion. The Histrians, bursting into the empty camp, when no other armed man had met them, bore down upon him at the headquarters as he was forming his men and encouraging them. A battle began, fiercer than one would expect considering the small number of defenders, and did not stop until the tribune of the soldiers and the men who had made a stand with him had fallen. The enemy, tearing down the general's tent and plundering whatever was there, moved on to the quaestor's quarters, the market, and the *via quintana*.[1] When they had found there abundance of everything ready and laid out, and in the quaestor's quarters couches spread,[2] the chief reclined and began to dine. Presently all the others, forgetting their arms and the enemy, did the same; and since the rather rich fare was strange to them, they greedily loaded their bodies with wine and food.

III. The state of affairs among the Romans was not at all the same at this moment; on land, on sea there was confusion; the sailors were striking their tents and were hurrying off to the ships the provisions set out on the shore; the terrified soldiers were rushing to the small boats and into the sea; some of the sailors, in the fear that the ships would be overcrowded, were blocking the onrush of the crowd while others were pushing out the ships from the shore into deep water. Then there was a struggle and soon even a battle, marked by the wounding and slaying of soldiers and sailors in turn, until the fleet was removed far from the land by order of the consul, who next began to segregate the armed

A.U.C. 576

4 submota est. Secernere inde inermes ab armatis coepit. Vix mille ducenti ex tanta multitudine qui arma haberent, perpauci equites, qui equos secum eduxissent, inventi sunt; cetera deformis turba velut lixarum calonumque, praeda vere futura, si 5 belli hostes meminissent. Tunc demum nuntius missus [1] ad tertiam legionem revocandam et Gallorum praesidium; et simul ex omnibus locis ad castra recipienda demendamque ignominiam rediri coeptum 6 est. Tribuni militum tertiae legionis pabulum lignaque proicere iubent, centurionibus imperant ut graviores aetate milites binos in ea iumenta ex quibus onera deiecta erant imponant; equites ut singulos e iuvenibus pedites secum in equos tollant: 7 egregiam gloriam legionis fore si castra metu secundanorum amissa sua virtute recipiant. Et recipi facile esse si in praeda occupati barbari subito 8 opprimantur; sicut ceperint, posse capi. Summa militum alacritate adhortatio audita est. Ferunt citati signa, nec signiferos armati morantur. Priores tamen consul copiaeque quae a mari reducebantur 9 ad vallum accesserunt. L. Atius, tribunus primus 10 secundae legionis, non hortabatur modo milites sed docebat etiam, si victores Histri, quibus armis cepissent castra, iisdem capta retinere in animō

[1] missus *add. Weissenborn.*

[1] Cf. *supra* ch. i. 7, the *fabulatores* and *lignatores*.

men from the unarmed. There were barely twelve hundred out of so great a crowd who had their weapons, and a very few cavalry were found who had brought their horses away with them; the rest were a motley crowd like servants and sutlers, surely destined to be booty if the enemy had bethought himself of the war. Then finally a messenger was sent to recall the third legion and the Gallic contingent, and at the same time from all sides there began the movement back to recover the camp and to wipe out the disgrace. The military tribunes of the third legion ordered foraging parties [1] to abandon the forage and wood they had collected, directed the centurions to mount two of the older soldiers on each pack-animal whose load had been removed, and the cavalry to take one each of the younger infantrymen with them on their horses: they told them that the legion would win a fair report if by their valour they should recover the camp which had been lost through the panic of the men of the second legion. The recovery of the camp would be easy, they said, if the barbarians could be suddenly surprised while engaged with the booty; just as they had taken it, so it could be taken from them. This exhortation was listened to with great enthusiasm on the part of the soldiers. They advanced the standards at full speed, nor did the troops lag behind the standard-bearers. Nevertheless the consul and the troops who were being brought back from the sea reached the rampart ahead of them. Lucius Atius, the senior tribune of the second legion, not only urged on the men but also showed them that if the victorious Histrians intended to hold the captured camp with the same arms

B.C. 178

A.U.C. 576 haberent, primum exutum castris hostem ad mare persecuturos fuisse, deinde stationes certe pro vallo habituros: vino somnoque veri simile esse mersos iacere.

IV. Sub haec A. Baeculonium, signiferum suum, notae fortitudinis virum, inferre signum iussit. 2 Ille, si se [1] sequerentur quo celerius fieret facturum dixit; conisusque cum trans vallum signum traie- 3 cisset, primus omnium portam intravit. Et parte alia T. et C. Aelii, tribuni militum tertiae legionis, cum equitatu adveniunt. Confestim et quos binos oneraria in iumenta imposuerant secuti, et consul 4 cum toto agmine. At Histrorum pauci qui modice vino usi erant,[2] memores fuerant fugae, aliis somno mors continuata est; integraque sua omnia Romani, praeterquam quod vini cibique absumptum erat, 5 receperunt. Aegri quoque milites, qui in castris relicti fuerant, postquam intra vallum suos senserunt, 6 armis arreptis caedem ingentem fecerunt. Ante omnes insignis opera fuit C. Popili equitis; Sabello cognomen erat. Is pede saucio relictus longe 7 plurimos hostium occidit. Ad octo milia Histrorum

[1] se *Novák*: unum se *Fr.*
[2] vino usi erant *Heerwagen*: uinosi erant *Fr.*

[1] If *suum* is correct, it would imply that either the legion had a standard, as well as each of its maniples, or that the commander had a personal flag; neither of these is known to have been true in the second century, and Livy may have been thinking of the later legion, which did have its own standard.

with which they had captured it, they would first B.C. 178 have pursued to the sea the enemy, driven from his camp, and then at least have posted guards in front of the rampart; it was very probable that they were lying sunk in wine and sleep.

IV. Thereupon he directed his guidon-bearer,[1] Aulus Baeculonius, a man of tried courage, to carry forward the standard. He replied that if they would follow him he would cause it to happen the more quickly; and when with a great effort he had hurled the standard over the rampart, he was the first of all to enter the gate.[2] And on another side Titus and Gaius Aelius, military tribunes of the third legion, were coming up with the cavalry. Straightway also came the soldiers whom they had mounted in pairs on the pack-animals, and the consul with the main body. But a few of the Histrians, who had indulged only moderately in the wine, bethought them of flight, for the rest, death was a prolongation of sleep; and the Romans recovered their possessions in their entirety, except for the wine and food that had been consumed. Even the sick troops, who had been left inside the camp, when they learned that their comrades were within the rampart, seized their arms and wrought great slaughter. Conspicuous beyond the rest was the performance of a trooper, Gaius Popilius; his cognomen was Sabellus. He, though wounded in the foot and left behind, killed by far the largest number of the enemy. About eight thousand of the Histrians were slain, none

[2] This picturesque feat, only resorted to in extreme emergencies (e.g. XXXIV. xlvi. 12) seems unnecessary if the Histrians were not defending the rampart (iii. 10 above). Livy has perhaps confused or misunderstood sources.

A.U.C. 576

sunt caesa, captus nemo, quia ira et indignatio immemores praedae fecit. Rex tamen Histrorum temulentus ex convivio, raptim a suis in equum
8 impositus, fugit. Ex victoribus ducenti triginta septem milites perierunt, plures in matutina fuga quam in recipiendis castris.

V. Forte ita evenit ut Cn. et L. Gavillii Novelli, Aquileienses, cum commeatu venientes, ignari
2 prope in capta castra ab Histris inciderent. Ii cum Aquileiam relictis impedimentis refugissent, omnia terrore ac tumultu non Aquileiae modo, sed Romae quoque post paucos dies impleverunt;
3 quo non capta tantum castra ab hostibus nec fuga, quae vera erant,[1] sed perditas res deletumque
4 exercitum omnem allatum est. Itaque, quod in tumultu fieri solet, dilectus extra ordinem non in urbe tantum, sed tota Italia indicti. Duae legiones civium Romanorum conscriptae, et decem milia peditum cum equitibus quingentis sociis nominis
5 Latini imperata. M. Iunius consul transire in Galliam et ab civitatibus provinciae eius quantum quaeque
6 posset militum exigere iussus. Simul decretum ut Ti.[2] Claudius praetor militibus legionis quartae et socium Latini nominis quinque milibus, equitibus[3] ducentis quinquaginta, Pisas ut convenirent ediceret, eamque provinciam dum consul inde abesset tutare-

[1] erant *J. F. Gronovius*: erat *Fr.*
[2] Ti. *Sigonius*: T. *Fr.*
[3] equitibus *J. F. Gronovius*: equitum *Fr.*

[1] *praetor peregrinus* (XL. lix. 5, cf. XL. xxvi. 7).

captured, for rage and passion made the Romans B.C. 178 heedless of booty. Nevertheless the chieftain of the Histrians, drunk as he was from the banquet, was hastily placed on a horse by his companions and escaped. Of the victors two hundred and thirty-seven fell, more in the flight in the morning than in the retaking of the camp.

V. It so happened by chance that Gnaeus and Lucius Gavillius Novellus, from Aquileia, coming with provisions and not knowing what had happened, almost stumbled upon the camp which had been taken by the Histrians. When they, leaving their belongings, had fled to Aquileia, they filled everything with consternation and confusion, not only at Aquileia, but also, a few days later, at Rome; where the report was brought not merely that the camp had been captured by the enemy and that the Romans had fled (as was the case), but also that all was lost and the whole army destroyed. And so, as is usually done in times of panic, extraordinary levies were proclaimed not in the City alone but throughout Italy. Two legions of Roman citizens were enlisted and ten thousand infantry with five hundred cavalry were levied upon the allies of the Latin confederacy. Marcus Junius the consul was directed to cross into Gaul and to demand from the states of that province as many soldiers as each could furnish. At the same time it was decreed that Tiberius Claudius the praetor[1] should issue an edict to the soldiers of the fourth legion and to five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse of the allies of the Latin confederacy that they should assemble at Pisa, and that Claudius should defend that province during the consul's absence; and also

A.U.C. 576

7 tur; M. Titinius praetor legionem primam, parem numerum sociorum peditum equitumque, Ariminum
8 convenire iuberet. Nero paludatus Pisas in provinciam est profectus; Titinius C. Cassio tribuno militum Ariminum qui praeesset legioni misso
9 dilectum Romae habuit. M. Iunius consul ex Liguribus in provinciam Galliam transgressus, auxiliis protinus per civitates Galliae militibusque
10 coloniis [1] imperatis, Aquileiam pervenit. Ibi certior factus exercitum incolumem esse, scriptis litteris Romam, ne tumultuarentur, ipse remissis auxiliis quae Gallis imperaverat, ad collegam est profectus.
11 Romae magna ex necopinato laetitia fuit: dilectus omissus est, exauctorati, qui sacramento dixerant, et exercitus qui Arimini pestilentia adfectus erat
12 domum dimissus. Histri magnis copiis cum castra haud procul consulis castris haberent, postquam alterum consulem cum exercitu novo advenisse audierunt, passim in civitates dilapsi sunt. Consules Aquileiam in hiberna legiones reduxerunt.

VI. Sedato tandem Histrico tumultu senatus consultum factum est ut consules inter se compararent uter eorum ad comitia habenda Romam rediret.
2 Cum absentem Manlium tribuni plebis A.[2] Licinius Nerva et C. Papirius Turdus in contionibus lacerarent rogationemque promulgarent, ne Manlius post idus Martias—prorogatae namque consulibus iam

[1] coloniis *Doujat*: colonis *Fr.*
[2] A. *add. Sigonius.*

[1] *praetor urbanus* (*supra* vi. 4).
[2] The first and fourth legions would normally have been in Liguria with the other consul. Livy may however mean the first of the two legions just authorized.

that Marcus Titinius the praetor [1] should order the B.C. 178
first legion [2] and an equal number of infantry and cavalry of the allies to assemble at Rimini. Nero in uniform set out for his province at Pisa; Titinius first sent Gaius Cassius, a tribune of the soldiers, to Rimini as commander of the legion and then conducted the levy at Rome. Marcus Junius the consul, having gone over from the Ligurians into the province of Gaul, and having immediately levied upon the Gallic states for auxiliaries and upon the colonies for regular troops, arrived at Aquileia. There he was informed that the army was safe, and sending despatches to Rome in order to allay their fears, he himself sent home the auxiliaries which he had levied on the Gauls and set out to join his colleague. At Rome there was great and unexpected joy; the levy was stopped, the soldiers who had taken the military oath were discharged, and the army, which had been suffering from a plague at Rimini, was sent home. Although the Histrians had a strong force in camp not far from the consul's camp, when they learned that the other consul with a new army had arrived they dispersed to their various states. The consuls led the legions into winter-quarters at Aquileia.

VI. The alarm in Histria having finally subsided, the senate passed a decree that the consuls should arrange between themselves which should come to Rome to hold the elections. When the tribunes of the people, Aulus Licinius Nerva and Gaius Papirius Turdus, were tearing the absent consul Manlius to pieces in their assemblies and proposing a bill that Manlius should not hold his command after the Ides of March—for the provincial commands of the

A.U.C. 576

in annum provinciae erant—imperium retineret,
3 uti causam extemplo dicere, cum abisset magistratu, posset, huic rogationi Q. Aelius collega intercessit magnisque contentionibus obtinuit ne perferretur.
4 Per eos dies Ti. Sempronius Gracchus et L. Postumius Albinus ex Hispania Romam cum revertissent, senatus iis a M. Titinio praetore datus in aede Bellonae ad disserendas res quas gessissent postulandosque honores meritos et[1] ut diis immortalibus haberetur honos.
5 Eodem tempore et in Sardinia magnum tumultum esse litteris T. Aebuti praetoris cognitum est, quas
6 filius eius ad senatum attulerat. Ilienses adiunctis Balarorum auxiliis pacatam provinciam invaserant, nec eis invalido exercitu et magna parte pestilentia
7 absumpto resisti poterat. Eadem et Sardorum legati nuntiabant orantes, ut urbibus saltem—iam enim agros deploratos esse—opem senatus ferret. Haec legatio totumque quod ad Sardiniam pertinebat ad novos magistratus reiectum est.
8 Aeque miserabilis legatio Lyciorum, qui crudelita-

[1] et *add. J. F. Gronovius.*

[1] The charge against Manlius (vii. 7 below) was that he had left his province of Gaul without permission to undertake the Histrian campaign (cf. i. 1 above). The prorogation of the *imperium* before the elections was irregular and apparently designed to thwart the tribunes' plan of prosecuting Manlius.

[2] For their appointment to the Spanish province cf. XL. xlvii. 1.

[3] Cf. XL. xxxiv. 13 and the note.

[4] A mountain tribe of Sardinia.

[5] Concerning this embassy cf. Polybius XXV. iv. L.C.L. Vol. V, pp. 475 f., especially the finding of the Roman commissioners, sec. 5: "they found that the Lycians had not been handed over to Rhodes as a gift, but rather to be treated like friends and allies."

consuls had already been prolonged for a year— B.C. 178
that he might be able to plead his cause immediately upon his retirement from office, this measure was vetoed by their colleague Quintus Aelius, who after violent arguments prevailed to prevent its passing.[1]

At about this time, when Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Lucius Postumius Albinus[2] had returned to Rome from Spain, an audience before the senate was granted to them by the praetor Marcus Titinius, to be held in the temple of Bellona so that they might present an account of their achievements, claim the distinctions they deserved and ask that honour should be paid to the immortal gods.

At the same time there was great confusion in Sardinia also, as was learned from dispatches from Titus Aebutius the praetor which had been brought to the senate by his son. The Ilienses,[3] reinforced by auxiliaries of the Balari,[4] had attacked the province while it was at peace, and could not be resisted since the army was weak and had lost a large number of its members as a result of a pestilence. Ambassadors of the Sardinians also brought the same news and begged that the senate should send aid to the towns at least—for the fields had already been abandoned in despair. This embassy and the whole question about what was to be done concerning Sardinia was postponed to the new administration.

An equally pitiful embassy from the Lycians arrived,[5] who complained of the cruelty of the

A.U.C. 576

tem Rhodiorum, quibus ab L. Cornelio Scipione attri-
9 buti erant, querebantur: fuisse se[1] sub dicione Antiochi; eam regiam servitutem collatam cum praesenti statu praeclaram libertatem visam. Non publice[2] tantum se premi imperio, sed singulos
10 iustum pati servitium. Coniuges[3] liberosque vexari; in corpus in tergum saeviri; famam, quod indignum sit, maculari dehonestarique; et palam res odiosas fieri iuris etiam usurpandi causa, ne pro dubio habeant, nihil inter se et argento parata mancipia
11 interesse. Motus his senatus litteras Lyciis ad Rhodios dedit, nec Lycios Rhodiis nec ullos alii cuiquam[4] qui nati liberi sint in servitutem dari
12 placere; Lycios ita sub Rhodiorum simul imperio et tutela esse ut in dicione populi Romani civitates sociae sint.

VII. Triumphi deinde ex Hispania duo continui
2 acti. Prior Sempronius Gracchus de Celtiberis sociisque eorum, postero die L. Postumius de Lusitanis aliisque eiusdem regionis Hispanis triumphavit. Quadraginta milia pondo argenti Gracchus[5] trans-

[1] se *add. Drakenborch.*
[2] publice *Duker*: publico *Fr.*
[3] coniuges *Hartel*: iustos coniuges *Fr.*
[4] alii cuiquam *Heraldus*: alicuiquam *Fr.*
[5] Gracchus *Madvig*: Ti. Gracchus *Fr.*

[1] The assignment of the Lycians to Rhodes was not the work of Scipio but of the commission, acting under orders from the senate, which concluded the treaty with Antiochus only after Scipio had left the province (XXXVII. lv.; XXXVIII. xxxix. 13).

[2] With *argento parata* cf. Euripides' *Alcestis* 675: Λυδὸν ἢ Φρύγα . . ἀργυρώνητον σέθεν. Polybius (XXVI. vii) gives a similar but less emotional account of the treatment of the Lycians.

Rhodians, under whose control they had been placed B.C. 178
by Lucius Cornelius Scipio.[1] They said that they had been under the dominion of Antiochus; this slavery to the King, when compared with their present situation, seemed glorious liberty. They were not merely as a state oppressed by their government, but private citizens were suffering downright bondage. Their wives and children, they said, were abused; cruelty was wreaked upon their bodies and their backs; their reputations—a shameful procedure—were stained and dishonoured; and openly hateful acts were done merely for the sake of displaying an abuse of power, in order to leave no doubt that there was no distinction between themselves and slaves bought with money.[2] The senate, moved by this appeal, entrusted the Lycians with a letter for the Rhodians, stating that it was not their pleasure that the Lycians should be enslaved by the Rhodians nor any people who had been born in freedom by any other people; the Lycians had been placed under the administrative control and at the same time the protection of the Rhodians on the same conditions as the allied states enjoyed under the guardianship of the Roman people.

VII. Then two triumphs over Spain were celebrated in succession. The first was that of Sempronius Gracchus, who triumphed over the Celtiberians and their allies, and the next day Lucius Postumius triumphed over the Lusitanians and other Spaniards in the same district.[3] Gracchus carried in procession forty thousand pounds of silver,

[3] For the campaigns of Gracchus and Albinus, cf. XL. xlvii ff. There was, according to the *Periocha*, a further account in the lost portion of this Book.

A.U.C. 576

3 tulit, viginti milia Albinus. Militibus denarios quinos vicenos, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti ambo diviserunt; sociis tantumdem quantum Romanis.

4 Per eosdem forte dies M. Iunius consul ex Histria
5 comitiorum causa Romam venit. Eum cum in senatu fatigassent interrogationibus tribuni plebis Papirius et Licinius de iis quae in Histria essent acta in
6 contionem quoque produxerunt. Ad quae cum consul se dies non plus undecim in ea provincia fuisse responderet, quae se absente acta essent, se
7 quoque, ut illos, fama comperta habere, exsequebantur deinde quaerentes, quid ita non potius A. Manlius Romam venisset, ut rationem redderet populo Romano, cur ex Gallia provincia quam
8 sortitus esset in Histriam transisset? Quando id bellum senatus decrevisset, quando id bellum populus Romanus iussisset? At hercule privato quidem consilio bellum susceptum esse, sed gestum prudenter
9 fortiterque. Immo, utrum susceptum sit nequius an inconsultius gestum dici non posse. Stationes duas necopinantes ab Histris oppressas, castra Romana capta, quod peditum, quod equitum in castris fuerit
10 caesum;[1] ceteros inermes fusosque, ante omnes consulem ipsum, ad mare ac naves fugisse. Privatum rationem redditurum earum rerum esse quoniam consul noluisset.

[1] caesum *add. Crévier.*

[1] Cf. XL. xliii. 7 and the note.

[2] The criticism of Manlius is similar to that directed against his brother after the Galatian campaign of 189 B.C. (especially XXXVIII. xlv.–xlvi).

Albinus twenty thousand. Both distributed as donatives twenty-five *denarii* each to the infantry, twice that sum to centurions, and thrice to the cavalry; the allies shared on the same terms with the Romans.[1] B.C. 178

About this time it chanced that the consul Marcus Junius came from Histria to Rome in order to hold the elections. When the tribunes of the people, Papirius and Licinius, had worn him out in the senate with questions as to what had happened in Histria, they finally haled him before an assembly. When the consul said in reply that he had spent not more than eleven days in that province, and that what had happened in his absence he, like the tribunes, knew only from report, they continued to pursue the matter, inquiring why in the world Aulus Manlius rather than himself had not come to Rome, in order to render an account to the Roman people of the reason why he had gone from the province of Gaul, which he had obtained from the lot, over into Histria? When, they asked, had the senate decreed that war? When had the Roman people ordered that war? But, by Hercules, he will say that although the war was undertaken on his own initiative, it was conducted wisely and courageously.[2] On the contrary, they said, it was impossible to say whether it was undertaken more improperly or prosecuted more imprudently. Two outposts were surprised by the Histrians, a Roman camp captured, and all the infantry and cavalry in the camp slaughtered, the rest, unarmed and routed, the consul himself leading the way, had fled to the sea and the ships! As a private citizen Manlius would give account of his actions, since he had refused to do this as a consul.

A.U.C. 576

VIII. Comitia deinde habita. Consules creati C. Claudius Pulcher Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. Et postero die praetores facti P. Aelius Tubero iterum C. Quinctius Flamininus C. Numisius L. Mummius
2 Cn. Cornelius Scipio C. Valerius Laevinus. Tuberoni urbana iurisdictio, Quinctio peregrina evenit, Numisio Sicilia, Mummio Sardinia; sed ea propter belli
3 magnitudinem provincia consularis facta.[1] Scipio et Laevinus Galliam in duas divisam provincias sortiti sunt.

A.U.C. 577

4 Idibus Martiis, quo die Sempronius Claudiusque consulatum inierunt, mentio tantum de provinciis Sardinia Histriaque et utriusque hostibus fuit qui in
5 his provinciis bellum concivissent. Postero die legati Sardorum, qui ad novos magistratus dilati erant, et [2] L. Minucius Thermus, qui legatus Manli consulis in Histria fuerat, in senatum venit. Ab his edoctus est senatus quantum belli eae provinciae haberent.
6 Moverunt senatum et legationes socium nominis Latini, quae et censores et priores consules fati-
7 gaverant,[3] tandem in senatum introductae. Summa querellarum erat, cives suos Romae censos plerosque Romam commigrasse; quod si permittatur, perpaucis lustris futurum, ut deserta oppida, deserti

[1] *post* facta, Gracchus eam sortitur, Histriam Claudius *exhibet Fr.*; *quae uerba secl. Drakenborch*; cf. ix. 8.
[2] et *add. Clericus.*
[3] fatigaverant *J. F. Gronovius*: fatigauerunt *Fr.*

[1] There was a praetor of this name in 201 B.C. (XXX. xl. 5).
[2] The separate mention of the Samnites and the Paelignians in sect. 8 below indicates that this refers only to the allies in Latium, not in Italy as a whole; cf. *ex Latio* in XXXIX. iii. 4.
[3] For an attempt in 189 B.C. to correct the same situation, cf. XXXIX. iii. 4–6.

VIII. The consular elections were then held. B.C. 178 The consuls chosen were Gaius Claudius Pulcher and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The next day the praetors were elected, Publius Aelius Tubero (for the second time),[1] Gaius Quinctius Flamininus, Gaius Numisius, Lucius Mummius, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, Gaius Valerius Laevinus. The jurisdiction between citizens fell to Tubero, that between citizens and aliens to Quinctius, Sicily to Numisius, Sardinia to Mummius; but this, by reason of the seriousness of the war, was made a consular province. Scipio and Laevinus received from the lot Gaul, divided into two provinces.

On the Ides of March, when Sempronius and B.C. 177 Claudius were inaugurated consuls, a mere mention was made of the provinces of Sardinia and Histria and the enemies in both who had stirred up war in those provinces. On the next day the ambassadors of the Sardinians, whose hearing had been postponed to the administration of the new consuls, were heard, and Lucius Minucius Thermus, who had been a lieutenant of the consul Manlius in Histria, came into the senate. By them the senate was informed to what extent these provinces were engaged in war.

The senate was greatly impressed also by the embassies from the allies of the Latin confederacy,[2] who had wearied both censors and former consuls, and were at length given audience before the senate. The substance of their complaints was that large numbers of their citizens had been rated at Rome and had moved to Rome;[3] but if this were allowed it would come to pass in a very few decades that there would be deserted towns and deserted farms

A.U.C. 577

8 agri nullum militem dare possint.[1] Fregellas quoque milia quattuor familiarum transisse ab se Samnites Paelignique querebantur, neque eo minus aut hos 9 aut illos in dilectu militum dare. Genera autem fraudis duo mutandae viritim civitatis inducta erant. Lex sociis [2] nominis Latini, qui stirpem ex sese domi relinquerent, dabat ut cives Romani fierent. Ea lege male utendo alii sociis, alii populo Romano 10 iniuriam faciebant. Nam et ne stirpem domi relinquerent, liberos suos quibusquibus Romanis in eam condicionem ut manu mitterentur mancipio dabant, libertinique cives essent; et quibus stirps [3] deesset quam relinquerent, ut cives Romani fierent, adopta-

[1] possint *Madvig*: possent *Fr.*
[2] sociis *Drakenborch*: sociis ac *Fr.*
[3] stirps *Weissenborn*: stirpes *Fr.*

[1] Fregellae was a Latin colony. It seems that as residents of Latium moved to Rome, so allies from other parts of Italy migrated to towns with larger privileges, without affecting the quota of troops required from their old homes.

[2] The use of pronouns is peculiar and the text may be corrupt. One would expect a complaint that the quota of Fregellae had not been raised to correspond to its increased population.

[3] The meaning is uncertain. Perhaps this ordinance was part of the original compact which governed the relations of Rome and the Latin League. From the fact that there is no reference to it in XXXIX. iii, it might be argued that the law had been passed since 189 B.C.

[4] The phrase *stirpem ex sese* has reference to natural, not adopted sons; the provision is an insurance against a decrease in the number of families in a community.

[5] The procedure is difficult to follow, especially in the light of the preceding sentence. This much is clear, that the father

which would be unable to furnish a single soldier. B.C. 177
Similarly the Samnites and Paelignians complained that four thousand families had moved from their territories to Fregellae,[1] nor did either [2] community furnish fewer soldiers on that account when the levy was made. Moreover, two kinds of fraud had been practised to secure individual transfers of citizenship. The law [3] granted to any persons among the allies of the Latin confederacy, who should leave [4] in their home towns offspring of their loins, the privilege of becoming Roman citizens. By the abuse of this law some were injuring the allies, some the Roman people. For in the first place, in order to evade the requirement that they should leave offspring at home, they would give their sons to any Romans whatsoever in slavery, on the condition that they should be manumitted and thus become citizens of freedman condition; [5] in the second place, those who had no offspring to leave behind, in order to become Roman citizens adopted children.[6] Later, disdain-

who aspired to become a Roman citizen satisfied the requirement mentioned above by leaving a son behind him; next he transferred that son collusively to some Roman by the legal process of *mancipium*; after the father had acquired the Roman citizenship, presumably, the Roman who had purchased the son set him free, whereby the son also became a *civis*, though a *libertinus*, by reason of his temporary slavery. This method injured the *socii*, by depriving them of a family.

[6] Teis passage has been emended in many ways: I have preferred the text of Voigt, mainly on account of its brevity, since the general purport of all is the same (for other suggestions see the apparatus of Giarratano). One may assume that the phrase *stirpem ex sese* was found legally ambiguous, and was stretched to include adoptive children. This method injured the Romans, since the law had been evaded, even if not actually violated.

A.U.C. 577

11 bant.[1] Postea his quoque imaginibus iuris spretis, promiscue sine lege, sine stirpe in civitatem Romanam
12 per migrationem et censum transibant.[2] Haec ne postea fierent petebant legati, et ut redire in civitates iuberent socios; deinde ut lege caverent ne quis quem civitatis mutandae causa suum faceret neve alienaret; et si quis ita civis Romanus factus esset, civis ne esset.[3] Haec impetrata ab senatu.

IX. Provinciae deinde, quae in bello erant, Sar-
2 dinia atque Histria consulibus[4] decretae. In Sardiniam duae legiones scribi iussae, quina milia in singulas et duceni pedites, treceni equites, et duodecim milia peditum sociorum ac Latini nominis et sescenti equites et decem quinqueremes naves, si
3 deducere ex navalibus vellet. Tantumdem peditum equitumque in Histriam, quantum in Sardiniam, decretum. Et legionem unam cum equitibus trecentis, et quinque milia peditum sociorum et ducentos quinquaginta mittere equites in Hispaniam consules
4 ad M. Titinium iussi. Priusquam consules pro-
5 vincias sortirentur, prodigia nuntiata sunt: lapidem in agro Crustumino in lucum[5] Martis de caelo cecidisse; puerum trunci corporis in agro Romano natum et quadrupedem anguem visum; et Capuae

[1] fierent, adoptabant *Voigt*: fiebant *Fr.*: *lacunam indicavit Crévier, quam alii alio modo suppleverunt.*
[2] transibant *Curio*: transiebant *Fr.*
[3] esset civis ne esset *Doujat*: esset *Fr.*
[4] consulibus *add. Perizonius.*
[5] lucum *Cluver*: lacum *Fr.*

[1] This clause forbids both the adoption and the mancipatory sale of a son to avoid the older law.

ing even these pretences of obedience to law, just B.C. 177
as they pleased, with no regard to the statute or to the requirement of offspring, they would transfer to the Roman citizenship by migration and recognition in the census. In order that these things might not occur in future, the ambassadors requested first, that the senate should direct allies to return to their cities; second, that a law should be passed providing that no one should acquire a son or dispose of one for the purpose of changing his citizenship;[1] third, that if anyone should thus become a Roman citizen, he should not be a Roman citizen. These petitions were granted by the senate.

IX. Next the provinces which were at war, Sardinia and Histria, were decreed to the consuls. For Sardinia two legions were ordered to be raised, each of fifty-two hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry; also twelve thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry from the allies of the Latin confederacy, and ten ships of five banks of oars, in case the consul should wish to launch any from the docks. The same number of infantry and cavalry were decreed for Histria as for Sardinia. Also, the consuls were directed to send one legion with three hundred cavalry and five thousand allied infantry and two hundred and fifty cavalry[2] to Marcus Titinius[3] in Spain. Before the consuls drew lots for their provinces, the prodigies were reported: a stone fell from the sky into the grove of Mars in the territory of Crustumerium; a boy whose body was without limbs was born near Rome and a four-legged snake was seen; and at

[2] I.e. of the allies, the three hundred being Roman.
[3] There were two praetors of this name: only three praetors are listed for the year 178 B.C. in XL. lix. 5.

A.U.C. 577

multa in foro aedificia de caelo tacta; et Puteolis
6 duas naves fulminis ictu concrematas esse. Inter haec quae nuntiabantur, lupus etiam Romae interdiu agitatus, cum Collina porta intrasset, per Esquilinam
7 magno consectantium tumultu evasit. Eorum prodigiorum causa consules maiores hostias immolarunt, et diem unum circa omnia pulvinaria supplicatio fuit.
8 Sacrificiis rite perfectis provincias sortiti sunt; Claudio Histria, Sempronio Sardinia obvenit.
9 Legem dein de sociis C. Claudius tulit ex [1] senatus consulto et edixit, qui socii [2] nominis Latini, ipsi maioresve eorum, M. Claudio T. Quinctio censoribus postve ea apud socios nominis Latini censi essent, ut omnes in suam quisque civitatem ante kal. Novem-
10 bres redirent. Quaestio qui ita non redissent L.
11 Mummio praetori decreta est. Ad legem et edictum [3] consulis senatus consultum adiectum est ut dictator, consul, interrex, censor, praetor, qui nunc esset quive postea futurus esset,[4] apud eorum quem qui [5] manu mitteretur, in libertatem vindicaretur, ut ius iurandum daret, qui eum manu mitteret, civi-

[1] ex *add. J. F. Gronovius.*
[2] socii *Schmidt*: socii ac *Fr.*
[3] *a syllaba TVM incipit* V.
[4] quive postea futurus esset *add. Weissenborn.*
[5] qui *add. Crévier.*

[1] They were censors in 189 B.C. (XXXVII. lviii. 2).
[2] In viii. 2 above Mummius was allotted Sardinia, but this province had later been transferred to Gracchus.
[3] The offices of dictator and interrex were rarely used at this period but were included for completeness, since they might be revived in future.
[4] The two clauses together constitute both the requirements for granting freedom to a slave and the methods to be followed.

Capua also many buildings in the forum were struck B.C. 177
by lightning; and at Puteoli two ships were burned by lightning bolts. In the midst of the announcement of these occurrences, a wolf was pursued even in Rome by day, after entering by the Porta Collina, and escaped by the Porta Esquilina amid great uproar on the part of the pursuers. By reason of these portents the consuls sacrificed full-grown victims, and for one day a supplication was held at all the banquet-tables of the gods. The sacrifices having been duly completed, the consuls drew for their provinces; Histria fell to Claudius, Sardinia to Sempronius.

Then Gaius Claudius, with the authorization of the senate, proposed a law concerning the allies, and issued a proclamation to the effect that all allies of the Latin confederacy, in the event that they themselves or their ancestors had been registered among the allies of the Latin confederacy in the censorship of Marcus Claudius and Titus Quinctius or thereafter,[1] should all return, each to his own state, before the Kalends of November. The investigation of those who should not have returned in this fashion was decreed to Lucius Mummius the praetor.[2] To this law and proclamation of the consul a decree of the senate was added, that a dictator, consul, interrex, censor, or praetor, who was at the time in office or should henceforth be in office,[3] before any one of whom a slave was brought for manumission and for the assertion of his claim to freedom,[4] should require that an oath be given [5] that the person who was manumitting the slave was

[5] The syntax is obscure, but the sense requires that the oath be given by the *manumissor*.

A.U.C. 577

tatis mutandae causa manu non mittere; in quo id[1] non iuraret,[2] eum manu mittendum non censuerunt. 12 Haec in posterum cauta iussique edicto C. Claudi consulis. . . [3] Mummio decreta est.

X. Dum haec Romae geruntur, M. Iunius et A. Manlius, qui priore anno consules fuerant, cum[4] Aquileiae hibernassent, principio veris[5] in finis 2 Histrorum exercitum introduxerunt; ubi cum effuse popularentur, dolor magis et indignatio diripi res suas cernentes Histros, quam certa spes, satis sibi 3 virium adversus duos exercitus esse,[6] excivit. Concursu ex omnibus populis iuventutis facto repentinus et tumultuarius exercitus acrius primo impetu quam 4 perseverantius pugnavit. Ad quattuor milia eorum in acie caesa; ceteri omisso bello in civitates passim diffugerunt. Inde legatos primum ad pacem petendam in castra Romana, deinde obsides imperatos 5 miserunt. Haec cum Romae cognita litteris proconsulum essent, C. Claudius consul veritus ne forte eae res provinciam et[7] exercitum sibi adimerent,

[1] in quo id *Heerwagen*: inqvid V (*ex corr., ut vid.*).
[2] iuraret *Fr.*: ivrare V.
[3] *lacunam indicavit Madvig.*
[4] cum *Fr.*: qvi V.
[5] veris *Fr.*: veri V.
[6] esse *add. Madvig.*
[7] eae res provinciam et *Vahlen*: ea r. p. V.

[1] This decree prevents the first method of evasion described in viii. 10 above.

[2] Madvig's suggestion as to the last words is followed except at the end, since he requires that the investigation be entrusted to Claudius. Because this contradicts sec. 10 above, I have modified his supplement, with no authority except the desire for a greater measure of consistency.

not manumitting him for the purpose of changing his citizenship;[1] in any case in which this oath was not taken, they decreed that the manumission should not take place. These precautions were taken for the future, and orders were issued under the edict of Gaius Claudius the consul [for the return of the allies to their states. The investigation thereof] was ordered [to be conducted under the supervision] of Mummius.[2] B.C. 177

X. While all these things were being done at Rome, Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, who had been consuls the preceding year, after wintering at Aquileia, in the beginning of spring led the army into the land of the Histrians; while they were plundering far and wide, grief and indignation at the sight of their ravaged possessions roused the Histrians more than any assured hope that they had strength enough to withstand the two armies. When the young men from all the communities had rushed together, the army, hastily raised for the emergency, fought at the first clash with greater vigour than perseverance. About four thousand of them were killed in the battle-line, the rest, abandoning the campaign, scattered in every direction to their states. Then they first sent ambassadors to the Roman camp to ask peace, then the hostages which were demanded. When this was known at Rome from the dispatch of the proconsuls, Gaius Claudius the consul, fearing that these occurrences might perhaps deprive him of his province and his army,[3] without

[3] The senate had earlier prorogued the *imperium* of Junius and Manlius (vi. 2 above), and the assignment of Histria to Claudius left them without occupation; friction was bound to follow.

A.U.C. 577

non votis nuncupatis, non paludatis [1] lictoribus, uno omnium certiore facto collega, nocte profectus, praeceps in provinciam abiit; ubi inconsultius quam
6 venerat se gessit. Nam cum contione advocata fugam e castris A. Manlio adversis auribus militum, quippe qui primi ipsi fugissent, obiectasset [2] et [3] ingessisset probra M. Iunio, quod se dedecoris socium collegae fecisset, ad extremum utrumque
7 decedere provincia iussit. Ad [4] quod cum illi tum consulis imperio dicto audientes futuros esse dicerent, cum is more maiorum, secundum vota in Capitolio nuncupata, lictoribus paludatis profectus ab urbe
8 esset, furens ira vocatum, qui pro quaestore Manli erat, catenas [5] poposcit, vinctos [6] se Iunium Man-
9 liumque minitans Romam missurum. Ab eo quoque spretum consulis imperium est; et circumfusus exercitus, favens imperatorum causae et consuli infestus,
10 animos ad non [7] parendum addebat. Postremo fatigatus consul et contumeliis singulorum et multitudinis—nam insuper inridebant—ludibriis, nave
11 eadem qua venerat Aquileiam redit. Inde collegae scripsit ut militum novorum ei parti quae scripta in

[1] paludatis *Fr.*: pabvlatis V.
[2] obiectasset *Madvig*: iactasset V.
[3] et *add. Kreyssig.*
[4] ad *add. M. Mueller.*
[5] catenas *Fr.*: catena V.
[6] vinctos *Fr.*: vinctosqve V.
[7] non *Fr.*: nos V.

announcing his vows or clothing his lictors in uniform, B.C. 177 notifying only his colleague of everything, set out by night and went off at headlong speed to his province; there his conduct was more rash than his coming. For when, calling an assembly, he had upbraided Aulus Manlius for his flight from the camp (the soldiers, who themselves had begun the flight, listening with hostile ears) and had heaped insults upon Marcus Junius, because he had made himself a partner in his colleague's disgrace, he ended by ordering both to leave the province. When they had replied to this that they would obey the command of a consul at such time as he set out from the City in the manner of their forefathers, after public proclamation of his vows on the Capitoline and with his lictors in uniform,[1] Claudius, maddened with rage, summoned the officer who was acting as quaestor for Manlius and demanded from him chains, threatening that he would send Junius and Manlius to Rome in irons. This officer also ignored the command of the consul; and the army standing round about favouring the cause of the generals and hostile to the consul, gave the quaestor courage to disobey. At last the consul, worn out by the insults of individuals and the jeers of the whole crowd—for they ridiculed him as well—returned to Aquileia in the same ship in which he had come. Thence he wrote to his colleague to issue an edict that such portion of the new troops as had been

[1] The proconsuls take the position that Claudius, having left Rome without performing the usual formalities, has no legal right to command in the province. There may have been no law to this effect, but custom was, in the main, on their side: cf., e.g. XXI. lxiii. 2.

A.U.C. 577

Histriam provinciam esset ediceret Aquileiam ut conveniret, ne quid se Romae teneret quo minus
12 votis nuncupatis paludatus ab urbe exiret. Haec a collega obsequenter facta, brevisque dies ad conveniendum edicta est. Claudius prope consecutus
13 est litteras suas. Contione adveniens de Manlio et Iunio habita, non ultra triduum moratus Romae, paludatis lictoribus votisque in Capitolio nuncupatis, in provinciam aeque ac prius [1] praecipiti celeritate abit.

XI. Paucis ante diebus Iunius Manliusque oppidum Nesattium, quo se principes Histrorum et regulus ipse Aepulo receperat, summa vi oppugnare
2 coeperant.[2] Eo Claudius duabus legionibus novis adductis, vetere exercitu cum suis ducibus dimisso, ipse oppidum circumsedit et vineis oppugnare in-
3 tendit,[3] amnemque praeterfluentem moenia, qui et impedimento oppugnantibus erat et aquationem Histris praebebat, multorum dierum opere exceptum
4 novo [4] alveo avertit. Ea res barbaros miraculo terruit abscisae aquae: [5] et ne tum quidem memores pacis, in caedem coniugum ac liberorum versi, etiam ut spectaculo hostibus tam foedum facinus esset,
5 palam in muris trucidatos praecipitabant. Inter simul complorationem feminarum puerorumque, simul nefandam caedem, milites transgressi murum oppi-
6 dum intrarunt. Cuius capti tumultum ubi [6] ex pavido

[1] aeque ac prius *Florebellus*: aeqvaeamplivs V.
[2] oppugnare coeperant *Weissenborn*: oppvgnant V.
[3] intendit *Fr.*: interditam V.
[4] nouo *Fr.*: nova V.
[5] abscisae aquae *Fr.*: abscisaqvae V.
[6] tumultum ubi *Vahlen*: tvmvli V.

enlisted for the province of Histria should assemble B.C. 177
at Aquileia, lest anything delay him at Rome from announcing his vows and setting out from the City in uniform. This was done by his colleague as he requested, and an early date for the muster was proclaimed. Claudius almost overtook his own letter. On his arrival he delivered a speech on the conduct of Manlius and Junius, and after tarrying not more than three days at Rome, with his lictors in uniform and having proclaimed his vows on the Capitoline, he went off to his province with the same headlong speed as before.

XI. A few days before this Junius and Manlius had begun to assault with all their might the town of Nesattium,[1] to which the leading men of the Histrians and even their chieftain Aepulo had withdrawn. There Claudius, bringing up the two new legions and sending away the old army with its commanders, himself invested the town and prosecuted the siege with sheds; and a river which flowed past the walls and was both a hindrance to the besiegers and a water-supply to the Histrians, after many days' toil he diverted and led off by a new channel. This act, by its miraculous cutting off of the water, terrified the barbarians; but, with no thought of peace even then, turning to the slaughter of their wives and children, in order that so horrible a deed might be in full view of the enemy also, they openly slew them on the walls and cast their bodies down. In the midst of the simultaneous wailing of women and children and the dreadful slaughter, the soldiers scaled the wall and entered the town. When the chief heard the din of its capture from the

[1] This town lay in a northerly direction from Pola.

A.U.C. 577

clamore fugientium accepit rex, traiecit ferro pectus, 7 ne vivus caperetur; ceteri capti aut occisi. Duo deinde oppida, Mutila et Faveria, vi capta et deleta. 8 Praeda, ut in gente inopi, spe maior fuit, et omnis militibus concessa est. Quinque milia capitum sescenta triginta duo sub corona venierunt. Auc- 9 tores belli virgis caesi et securi percussi. Histria tota trium oppidorum excidio et morte regis pacata est; omnesque undique populi obsidibus datis in dicionem venerunt.

10 Sub Histrici finem belli apud Ligures concilia de bello haberi coepta.

XII. Ti. Claudius proconsul, qui praetor priore anno fuerat, cum praesidio legionis unius Pisis prae- 2 erat. Cuius litteris senatus certior factus, eas ipsas litteras ad C. Claudium—nam alter consul iam in 3 Sardiniam traiecerat—deferendas censet et adicit decretum, quoniam Histria provincia confecta esset si ei videretur exercitum traduceret in Ligures. 4 Simul ex litteris consulis, quas de rebus in Histria gestis scripserat, in biduum supplicatio decreta. Et ab [1] altero consule Ti.[2] Sempronio in Sardinia pros- 5 pere res gesta.[3] Exercitum in agrum Sardorum Iliensium induxit. Balarorum magna auxilia Iliensibus venerant; cum utraque gente signis collatis conflixit. Fusi fugatique hostes castrisque exuti, 6 duodecim milia armatorum caesa. Postero die arma

[1] ab *add. Fr.* [2] Ti. *Fr.*: iis V.
[3] gesta *Kreyssig*: gestia V.

[1] For the progressive development of the meaning of the phrase *provincia confecta*, cf. XL. xxxv. 4 and the note.

[2] The Ilienses were of a different stock from the Balari; both stocks were included under the common designation Sardi.

terrified cries of the fugitives, he stabbed himself B.C. 177 with his sword, so as not to be taken alive; the rest were captured or killed. Next two towns, Mutila and Faveria, were taken by storm and destroyed. The booty, considering the poverty of the people, was greater than they had hoped, and all of it was given to the soldiers. Five thousand six hundred and thirty-two captives were sold at auction. The persons responsible for the war were scourged and beheaded. All Histria, through the destruction of three towns and the death of its king, was pacified; and all the surrounding tribes gave hostages and surrendered.

Toward the end of the Histrian war the Ligurians began to hold councils regarding war.

XII. Tiberius Claudius the proconsul, who had been praetor the preceding year, was in command at Pisa with a garrison of one legion. The senate, informed by his dispatches, voted that these same dispatches should be forwarded to Gaius Claudius—for by now the other consul had crossed to Sardinia—and added a decree that, since the province of Histria had been subdued,[1] he should, if it seemed wise to him, lead the army against the Ligurians. At the same time, in consequence of the dispatches of the consul, which he had written regarding events in Histria, a thanksgiving for two days was decreed. The other consul, Tiberius Sempronius, also conducted in Sardinia a successful campaign. He led the army into the country of the Sardinian Ilienses.[2] Strong reinforcements of the Balari had come to the Ilienses; he fought in pitched battle with both tribes. The enemy was repulsed and routed and stripped of his camp; twelve thousand armed men were slain.

A.U.C. 577

lecta conici in acervum iussit consul sacrumque id Vulcano cremavit. Victorem exercitum in hiberna
7 sociarum urbium reduxit. Et C. Claudius litteris Ti. Claudi et senatus consulto accepto ex Histria
8 legiones in Ligures transduxit. Ad Scultennam flumen in campos progressi castra habebant hostes, ibi cum iis acie dimicatum. Quindecim milia caesa, plus septingenti [1] aut in proelio aut in castris—nam ea quoque expugnata sunt—capti, et signa militaria
9 unum et quinquaginta capta. Ligures, reliquiae caedis, in montes refugerunt, passimque populanti [2] campestres agros consuli nulla usquam apparuerunt
10 arma. Claudius duarum gentium uno anno victor, duabus, quod raro alius, in consulatu pacatis [3] provinciis Romam revertit.[4]

XIII. Prodigia eo anno nuntiata: in Crustumino avem sanqualem quam vocant sacrum lapidem rostro
2 cecidisse, bovem in Campania locutam,[5] vaccam aeneam Syracusis ab agresti tauro qui a pecore [6]
3 aberrasset, initam ac semine adspersam. In Crustumino diem unum in ipso loco supplicatio fuit, et in Campania bos alenda publice data, Syracusanumque

[1] septingenti *Fr.*: dit (*sic*) V.
[2] passimque populanti *Madvig*: passimpopvlantiqvae V.
[3] pacatis *Fr.*: pacatisqve V: subactis pacatisque *Rossbach*.
[4] revertit *Fr.*: evertit V.
[5] locutam *Jakob Gronovius*: locvtvm V.
[6] a pecore *Hertz*: pecora V.

[1] This river, rising in the Apennines, flowed past Modena, cf. Strabo V. i. 12.

[2] Festus (p. 317) says that the bird *in commentariis auguralibus ossifraga* ('bonebreaker') *appellatur*. Pliny (*N.H.* X. vii. 20) was uncertain as to the meaning of the word

The next day the consul ordered the weapons to be B.C. 177 collected, heaped up in a pile and burned as an offering to Vulcan. He led the conquering army back into winter quarters in allied cities. And Gaius Claudius, on receipt of the letter of Tiberius Claudius and the decree of the senate, led the legions over from Histria against the Ligurians. The enemy had advanced into the plains and encamped near the river Scultenna,[1] and there he fought them in line of battle. Fifteen thousand were killed, more than seven hundred captured, either in the battle or in the camp—for it too was taken—and fifty-one military standards. The Ligurians, the remnants left by the slaughter, fled to the mountains, and no armed force showed itself to the consul anywhere as he ravaged the farms in the plains far and wide. Claudius, victorious over two peoples in one year, and having pacified two provinces in his consulship, a thing which had rarely happened, returned to Rome.

XIII. Prodigies were reported that year: in the territory of Crustumerium they say that a bird, called *sanqualis* [2] cut a sacred stone [3] with its beak, that in Campania a cow spoke, that at Syracuse a brazen heifer was approached and impregnated by a wild bull which had strayed from its herd. In the territory of Crustumerium a day of prayer was held on the actual spot,[4] and in Campania the cow was consigned to maintenance at the expense of the state. Atonement was made for the prodigy at

sanqualis, which may have been related to the name of the god Sangus (XXXII. i. 10); cf. Festus 371; *quia in Sangi dei tutela est*.

[3] Perhaps a boundary or sepulchral stone or a dedication.

[4] I.e., at the spot where the portent occurred, not in Rome.

A.U.C. 577 prodigium expiatum editis ab haruspicibus dis, quibus supplicaretur.

4 Pontifex eo anno mortuus est M. Claudius Marcellus, qui consul censorque fuerat. In eius locum suffectus est pontifex filius eius M. Marcellus. Et Lunam[1] colonia eodem anno duo milia civium 5 Romanorum sunt deducta. Triumviri deduxerunt P. Aelius M. Aemilius Lepidus[2] Cn. Sicinius; quinquagena et singula iugera et semisses agri in singulos dati sunt. De Liguribus[3] captus ager erat; Etruscorum ante quam Ligurum fuerat.

6 C. Claudius consul ad urbem venit; cui, cum in senatu de rebus in Histria Liguribusque prospere gestis disseruisset,[4] postulanti triumphus est decretus. Triumphavit in magistratu de duabus simul gentibus. 7 Tulit in eo triumpho denarium[5] trecenta septem milia et victoriatum octoginta quinque milia septingentos duos. Militibus in singulos quini deni 8 denarii dati, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti. Sociis dimidio minus quam civibus datum. Itaque taciti ut iratos esse sentires, secuti sunt currum.[6]

XIV. Cum is[7] triumphus de Liguribus agebatur, Ligures postquam senserunt non consularem tantum

[1] Lunam *Fr.*: vna V.
[2] M. Aemilius Lepidus *Kreyssig*: legibvs V.
[3] Liguribus *Heraeus*: ligvres V.
[4] disseruisset *add. Fr.*
[5] denarium *Fr.*: denaria V.
[6] currum *Fr.*: cvrrvs V.
[7] cum is *add. Drakenborch.*

[1] He was consul in 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxiv. 1) and censor in 189 B.C. (XXXVII. lviii. 2).

[2] An Illyrian coin originally, worth three-fourths of a denarius; cf. Pliny *N.H.* XXX. iii. 46.

Syracuse, the gods to whom supplication should be B.C. 177 made having been announced by the *haruspices*.

That year occurred the death of the pontiff Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who had been consul and censor.[1] In his place was substituted in the priesthood his son Marcus Marcellus. Also in that year a colony of two thousand Roman citizens was established at Luna. The board of three which established it consisted of Publius Aelius, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Gnaeus Sicinius; the allotment to each colonist was fifty-one and one half *iugera*. The land had been taken from the Ligurians; it had belonged to the Etruscans before the Ligurians.

Gaius Claudius the consul came to the City: when he had given an account in the senate of his successful operations in Histria and among the Ligurians, on his request a triumph was decreed. He triumphed during his term of office over two peoples at once. He carried in procession in his triumph three hundred and seven thousand *denarii*, eighty-five thousand seven hundred and two *victoriati*.[2] Each of the infantry received fifteen *denarii*, the centurions twice, the cavalry each thrice that sum. To the allies[3] a half less was given than to the citizens. And so they followed the car in silence, so that you could perceive that they were angry.

XIV. While this triumph over the Ligurians was being celebrated, when the Ligurians perceived that not only had the consular army been taken away to

[3] The custom, at least in recent years, had been to give the Latin allies the same donatives as the Romans (vii. 3 above and the note). The treatment in this case may be part of the general discrimination against them (cf. ix. 9–12 above).

A.U.C. 577

2 exercitum Romam abductum, sed legionem ab Ti. Claudio Pisis dimissam, soluti metu, clam exercitu indicto, per transversos limites [1] superatis montibus in campos degressi, agrum Mutinensem populati, 3 repentino impetu coloniam ipsam ceperunt. Id ubi Romam allatum est, senatus C.[2] Claudium consulem comitia primo quoque tempore habere iussit creatisque in annum magistratibus in provinciam redire et coloniam ex hostibus eripere. Ita, uti 4 censuit senatus, comitia habita. Consules creati Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus, Q. Petilius Spurinus. 5 Praetores inde facti M. Popilius Laenas, P. Licinius Crassus, M. Cornelius Scipio, L. Papirius Maso, M. 6 Aburius, L. Aquilius Gallus. C. Claudio consuli prorogatum in annum imperium et Gallia provincia; et ne Histri idem,[3] quod et Ligures, facerent, socios nominis Latini in Histriam mitteret, quos triumphi causa de provincia deduxisset.

A.U.C. 578

7 Cn. Cornelio et Q. Petilio consulibus, quo die magistratum inierunt, immolantibus Iovi singulis bubus uti solet, in ea hostia, qua Q.[4] Petilius sacrificavit, in iocinere caput non inventum. Id cum ad 8 senatum rettulisset, bove perlitare iussus. De provinciis deinde consultus senatus Pisas et[5] Ligures 9 provincias consulibus decrevit; cui Pisae provincia

[1] limites *Fr.*: milites V.
[2] senatus C. *Fr.*: sc (*sic, id est*, senatus consultum) V.
[3] idem *Kreyssig*: quoque idem *Fr.*: qvidem V.
[4] qua Q. *Fr.*: qvaeqve V.
[5] Pisas et *Fr.*: ipsased V.

[1] It was especially fortunate if favourable omens were secured from the first victim (XXXVI. i. 3); if not, the sacrifice was repeated.

Rome, but even the legion sent back from Pisa by B.C. 177 Tiberius Claudius, being now freed from fear, secretly mustering an army they crossed the mountains by side roads and came down into the plains, and after devastating the lands around Mutina captured the colony itself by a surprise attack. When this was reported at Rome, the senate instructed the consul Gaius Claudius to hold the elections at the earliest possible moment, and after choosing the magistrates for the year to return to the province and rescue the colony from the enemy. The elections were held as the senate had decreed. The consuls chosen were Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Hispallus and Quintus Petilius Spurinus. Next the praetors were elected, Marcus Popilius Laenas, Publius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Cornelius Scipio, Lucius Papirius Maso, Marcus Aburius, Lucius Aquilius Gallus. The *imperium* of Gaius Claudius the consul, together with his assignment to Gaul, was extended for a year; he was also instructed, in order to prevent the Histrians from doing the same thing that the Ligurians had done, to send to Histria the allies of the Latin confederacy whom he had withdrawn from the province by reason of his triumph.

The consuls, Gnaeus Cornelius and Quintus Petilius, B.C. 176 on the day of their inauguration, sacrificed each an ox to Jupiter, as is usual, but in the victim which Quintus Petilius sacrificed no head to the liver was found. When this was announced to the senate he was instructed to continue sacrificing cattle until a favourable omen was secured.[1] The senate next, when consulted about the provinces, decreed Pisa and the Ligurians as provinces for the consuls; the consul to whom Pisa should have fallen as a

A.U.C. 578 obvenisset, cum magistratuum creandorum tempus
10 esset, ad comitia reverti iussit. Additum decreto ut
binas legiones novas scriberent et trecenos equites;
et dena milia peditum sociis nominique Latino et
11 sescenos imperarent equites. Ti.[1] Claudio prorogatum est imperium in id tempus quo in provinciam consul venisset.

XV. Dum de iis rebus in[2] senatu agitur, Cn. Cornelius evocatus a viatore, cum templo egressus esset, paulo post redit confuso vultu et exposuit patribus conscriptis bovis sescenaris quem immo-
2 lavisset iocur diffluxisse.[3] Id se victimario nuntianti parum credentem ipsum aquam effundi ex olla ubi exta coquerentur iussisse et vidisse ceteram integram partem extorum, iecur omne inenarrabili tabe[4]
3 absumptum. Territis eo prodigio patribus et alter consul curam adiecit, qui se, quod caput iocineri
4 defuisset, tribus bubus perlitasse negavit. Senatus maioribus hostiis usque ad litationem sacrificari iussit. Ceteris diis perlitatum ferunt; Saluti Petilium perlitasse negant. Inde consules praetoresque provincias
5 sortiti. Pisae Cn. Cornelio, Ligures Q.[5] Petilio obvenerunt. Praetores L. Papirius Maso urbanam,

[1] Ti. *Sigonius*: C. V. [2] in *add. Fr.*
[3] diffluxisse *Perizonius*: deflvxisse V.
[4] inenarrabili tabe *Kreyssig*: inenarrabilitate V.
[5] Q. *add. Jakob Gronovius.*

[1] Pisa had usually belonged to the Ligurian province, but now was a separate province, cf. XXXVIII. 35. 8.

[2] Such prorogations were usually thought unnecessary since a commander normally remained until he was relieved, even without orders.

[3] The meaning of the adjective *sescenaris* is unknown; and no attempt to emend has been successful.

province[1] was ordered to return for the elections B.C. 176
on the arrival of the time of choosing magistrates. It was added to the decree that they should each enroll two new legions and three hundred cavalry; and that each should call upon the allies of the Latin confederacy for ten thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry. The *imperium* of Tiberius Claudius was extended until such time as the consul should have come to the province.[2]

XV. While these matters were being discussed in the senate, Gnaeus Cornelius, summoned by a messenger, left the senate-house, and shortly afterward returned with a troubled expression and reported to the Conscript Fathers that the liver of a *sescenaris* ox[3] which he had sacrificed had melted away. He added that, scarcely believing the man in charge of the victims when he reported this, he had himself directed that the water be poured out of the kettle in which the entrails were being boiled and had seen all the rest of the entrails complete, but the whole liver had been consumed by an indescribable wasting. To the Fathers, already terrified by this portent, the other consul brought additional anxiety by reporting that he had failed to obtain a favourable omen after sacrificing three cattle, as the head of the liver had been missing. The senate directed him to continue sacrificing full-grown victims until he received a favorable omen. They say that in the case of the other gods they were obtained; to Salus, they say, Petilius could find no good omen. Then the consuls and praetors drew lots for their provinces. Pisa fell to Gnaeus Cornelius in the drawing, the Ligurians to Quintus Petilius. Of the praetors, Lucius Papirius Maso

A.U.C. 578

M. Aburius inter peregrinos sortiti sunt. M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis Hispaniam ulteriorem, 6 L. Aquilius Gallus Siciliam habuit. Duo deprecati sunt ne in provincias irent, M. Popilius in Sardiniam: Gracchum eam provinciam pacare; ei T. Aebutium 7 praetorem adiutorem ab senatu datum esse. Interrumpi tenorem rerum, in quibus peragendis continuatio ipsa efficacissima esset, minime convenire; 8 inter traditionem imperii novitatemque successoris, quae noscendis prius quam agendis rebus imbuenda sit, saepe bene gerendae rei occasiones intercidere.[1] 9 Probata Popilii excusatio est. P. Licinius Crassus sacrificiis se impediri sollemnibus excusabat ne in provinciam iret; ei[2] citerior Hispania obvenerat. 10 Ceterum aut ire iussus aut iurare pro contione sollemni sacrificio se prohiberi. Id ubi in P. Licinio ita statutum est, et ab se uti iusiurandum[3] acciperent M. Cornelius postulavit ne in Hispaniam ulteriorem iret. 11 Praetores ambo in eadem verba iurarunt.[4] M. Titinius et T.[5] Fonteius proconsules manere cum eodem imperii iure in Hispania iussi; et ut in supplementum his tria milia civium Romanorum cum

[1] intercidere *Fr.*: intercedere V.
[2] ei *add. Gitlbauer.*
[3] iusiurandum *Fr.*: ivreivrando V.
[4] iurarunt *Crévier*: ivreivrarvnt V.
[5] T. *add. Fr.*

[1] While the argument of Popilius for continued command during a campaign is sound, one wonders what was responsible for the sudden unwillingness to assume provincial duties at this time, when most magistrates were rather too eager for them.

gained by lot the civil jurisdiction, Marcus Aburius B.C. 176 that between citizens and aliens. Marcus Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis had Farther Spain and Lucius Aquilius Gallus Sicily. Two asked to be excused from going to their provinces, Marcus Popilius to Sardinia: Gracchus, he said, was pacifying that province; the praetor Titus Aebutius had been assigned him as an assistant by the senate. That the regular course of business should be interrupted, in the completion of which mere continuity was most effective, was by no means expedient; during a transfer of command and the novitiate of the successor, which had to be devoted to learning things rather than doing them, opportunities for successful operations were often lost.[1] The plea of Popilius was accepted. Publius Licinius Crassus alleged that he was hindered by obligatory sacrifices from going to his province; Nearer Spain had fallen to his lot. But he was ordered either to go or to take oath before the assembly that he was prevented by an obligatory sacrifice.[2] When this had been approved in the case of Publius Licinius, Marcus Cornelius also demanded that they should accept his oath, as an excuse for not going to Farther Spain. Both praetors swore in the same formula. Marcus Titinius and Titus Fonteius the proconsuls were instructed to remain in Spain with the same prerogative of command; it was also ordered that as reinforcements for them three thousand Roman citizens and two hundred cavalry, five thousand

[2] The character of the oath is more explicitly stated in XLII. xxxii. 2, where it appears that as consul Licinius was less constrained by it.

A.U.C. 578 equitibus ducentis, quinque milia socium Latini nominis et trecenti equites mitterentur.

XVI. Latinae feriae fuere ante diem tertium nonas Maias, in quibus quia in una hostia magistratus Lanuvinus precatus non erat populo Romano Quiritium, religioni fuit. Id cum ad senatum relatum esset senatusque ad pontificum collegium reiecisset, pontificibus, quia non recte factae Latinae essent, instaurari Latinas [1] placuit, Lanuvinos, quorum opera instaurandae [2] essent, hostias praebere. Accesserat ad religionem, quod [3] Cn. Cornelius consul ex monte Albano rediens concidit et, parte membrorum captus ad Aquas Cumanas profectus ingravescente morbo Cumis decessit. Sed inde mortuus Romam allatus et funere magnifico elatus sepultusque est. Pontifex idem fuerat. Consul Q. Petilius cum primum per auspicia posset, collegae subrogando comitia habere iussus et Latinas edicere, comitia in ante [4] diem tertium nonas Sextiles, Latinas [5] in ante diem tertium idus Sextiles edixit. Plenis religionum animis prodigia insuper nuntiata: Tusculi facem in caelo visam, Gabiis aedem Apollinis et privata aedificia complura, Graviscis murum portamque de caelo tacta. Ea [6] patres procurari uti pontifices censuissent iusserunt.

[1] instaurari Latinas *Vahlen*: instavratislatinis V.
[2] instaurandae *Drakenborch*: instavrati V.
[3] quod *add. Fr.*
[4] ante *add. Sigonius.*
[5] Latinas *add. Fr.* [6] tacta. ea *Fr.*: tactae V.

[1] Cf. XXXII. i. 9 and the note.
[2] An accidental omission of a phrase from a formula might, in Roman thinking, vitiate the whole formula.
[3] Possibly the spa near Baiae.

infantry and three hundred cavalry of the allies of B.C. 176 the Latin confederacy should be sent.

XVI. The Latin festival [1] was held on the third day before the Nones of May, and a religious scruple arose because at the sacrifice of one victim the magistrate of Lanuvium had not prayed for the Roman people,[2] the Quirites. When this was reported to the senate and the senate had referred the question to the college of pontiffs, the decree of the pontiffs was that the Latin festival should be repeated, since it had not been correctly performed, and that the people of Lanuvium, to whom was due the necessity of the repetition, should furnish the victims. Their religious fear was increased by the fact that Gnaeus Cornelius the consul fell on his return from the Alban Mount, and, paralyzed in some of his limbs, set out for Aquae Cumanae [3] and, his illness growing more severe, died at Cumae. But after his death he was removed to Rome and was carried out and buried with an elaborate funeral. He was, in addition to being consul, a pontiff. The consul Quintus Petilius, as soon as the auspices permitted, was ordered to hold an election to choose his colleague and to proclaim the Latin festival; the election he declared for the third day before the Nones of August, the festival for the third day before the Ides of August. At a time when men's minds were already filled with religious fears, to add to them prodigies were reported: at Tusculum, a firebrand was seen in the sky, and at Gabii the temple of Apollo and numerous private houses, at Gravisca the wall and gate, were struck by lightning. The Fathers ordered expiation for these, in a manner to be prescribed by the pontiffs.

A.U.C. 578

7 Dum consules primum religiones, deinde alterum alterius mors et comitia et Latinarum instauratio [1] impediunt, interim C. Claudius exercitum ad Mutinam
8 quam Ligures priore anno ceperant admovit. Intra [2] triduum quam oppugnare coeperat, receptam ex hostibus colonis restituit. Octo milia ibi Ligurum intra muros caesa; litteraeque Romam extemplo scriptae, quibus non modo rem exponeret, sed etiam gloriaretur sua virtute ac felicitate neminem iam cis Alpes esse [3] hostem populi Romani,[4] agrique aliquantum captum, qui multis milibus hominum dividi viritim posset.

XVII. Et Ti. Sempronius eodem tempore in Sardinia multis secundis proeliis Sardos perdomuit.
2 Quindecim milia hostium sunt caesa, omnes Sardorum populi qui defecerant in dicionem redacti. Stipendiariis veteribus duplex vectigal imperatum
3 exactumque; ceteri frumentum contulerunt. Pacata provincia obsidibusque ex tota insula ducentis triginta acceptis, legati Romam qui ea nuntiarent missi quique [5] ab senatu peterent ut ob eas res ductu auspicioque Ti. Semproni [6] prospere gestas diis immortalibus honos haberetur, ipsique decedenti de
4 provincia exercitum secum deportare [7] liceret. Se-

[1] instauratio *Kreyssig*: instavratione V.
[2] intra *Perizonius*: ante V.
[3] esse *add. Weissenborn.*
[4] populi Romani *ed. Lugdunensis* 1553: pro V.
[5] quique *Fr.*: qvoqve V.
[6] Sempronii *Fr.*: sempronivs V.
[7] secum deportare *Fr.*: secvndaeportare V.

[1] Sardinia, like Sicily, was organized on the tithe-system of Hiero, but some persons or communities paid in cash. It is not clear whether this increase was a permanent doubling of the rate or a temporary penalty.

While the two consuls were delayed first by religious observances, then one consul by the death of the other and the election and the repetition of the Latin festival, in the meantime Gaius Claudius led the army toward Mutina, which the Ligurians had captured the year before. Within three days from the beginning of the siege he recovered it and restored it to the colonists. Eight thousand of the Ligurians perished there within the walls; and dispatches were at once sent to Rome, in which he not only stated the facts but also boasted that as a result of his valour and good fortune there was no longer an enemy of the Roman people on this side of the Alps, and that a large amount of land had been captured which could be divided individually among many thousands of men. B.C. 176

XVII. At the same time also Tiberius Sempronius in Sardinia completely subdued the Sardinians in many successful battles. Fifteen thousand men were killed, and all the tribes of the Sardinians who had revolted were reduced to submission. Upon those who had been tributaries before, double taxes were imposed and levied, the rest contributed grain.[1] Now that he had pacified the province and received two hundred and thirty hostages from the whole island, he sent lieutenants to Rome to report these events and to ask the senate that by reason of the successes obtained under the leadership and auspices of Tiberius Sempronius honour should be paid to the immortal gods and that Sempronius himself, on his departure from the province, should be permitted to bring back his army.[2] The senate, meeting in the

[2] The last request was a preliminary to an application for a triumph: cf. XL. xxxv. 6 and the note.

A.U.C. 578

natus in aede Apollinis legatorum verbis auditis supplicationem in biduum decrevit, et quadraginta maioribus hostiis consules sacrificare iussit, Ti. Sempronium proconsulem exercitumque eo anno in provincia manere.

5 Comitia deinde consulis unius subrogandi, quae in[1] ante diem tertium nonas Sextiles edicta erant, 6 eo ipso die sunt confecta. Q. Petilius consul collegam, qui extemplo magistratum occiperet, creavit C. Valerium Laevinum. Ipse iam[2] diu cupidus provinciae, cum opportunae cupiditati eius litterae adlatae essent Ligures rebellasse, nonis Sextilibus paludatus. . . .[3] Senatus[4] litteris auditis tumultus 7 eius causa legionem tertiam ad C. Claudium proconsulem in Galliam proficisci iussit, et duumviros navales cum classe Pisas ire, qui Ligurum oram, maritimum quoque terrorem admoventes, circum- 8 vectarentur. Eodem Pisas et Q. Petilius consul ad 9 conveniendum exercitui diem[5] edixerat. Et C. Claudius proconsul audita rebellione Ligurum praeter eas copias quas secum Parmae habebat subitariis collectis militibus exercitum ad fines Ligurum admovit.

XVIII. Hostes sub adventum C. Claudi, a quo duce se meminerant nuper ad Scultennam flumen victos fugatosque, locorum magis praesidio adversus infeliciter expertam vim quam armis se defensuri, duos

[1] quae in *add. Sigonius.*
[2] ipse iam *Madvig*: iisetiam V.
[3] *lacunam indicavit Duker.*
[4] senatus *add. Heusinger.*
[5] exercitui diem *Fr.*: exercitvm V.

[1] While I have not ventured to print Vahlen's restoration as part of the text, I have translated its substance.

temple of Apollo, heard the words of the lieutenants, B.C. 176 decreed a thanksgiving for two days, ordered the consuls to sacrifice forty full-grown victims, and directed Tiberius Sempronius the proconsul and the army to remain that year in the province.

Then the election for the purpose of filling the one vacancy in the consulship, which had been announced for the third day before the Nones of August, was finished the same day. Quintus Petilius the consul declared Gaius Valerius Laevinus chosen as his colleague, to enter upon his office at once. He himself had long been eager for his province, when, fortunately for his ambition, dispatches arrived that the Ligurians had rebelled, and on the Nones of August he set out in uniform [for his province and sent back a letter concerning his achievements there.[1]] The senate, hearing the letter, by reason of the uprising ordered the third legion to set out to join Gaius Claudius the proconsul in Gaul, and the *duumviri navales* to proceed with the fleet to Pisa, in order to sail along the coast of the Ligurians, spreading terror by sea as well. At the same destination, Pisa, the consul Quintus Petilius had also named a rendezvous for his army. And Gaius Claudius the proconsul, hearing of the revolt of the Ligurians, in addition to the troops which he had with him at Parma, raised emergency troops and moved his army to the frontiers of the Ligurians.

XVIII. The enemy, on the arrival of Gaius Claudius, by whom as commander they recalled that recently at the Scultenna river they had been defeated and put to flight, with a view to defending themselves by the protection of the country rather than by arms against an attack which had turned out

A.U.C. 578

montes Letum et Ballistam ceperunt muroque[1] insuper amplexi sunt.[2] Tardius ex agris demigrantes oppressi ad mille et quingenti perierunt; ceteri montibus se tenebant, et ne in metu quidem feritatis ingenitae obliti saeviunt in praedam quae Mutinae parta erat. Captivos cum foeda laceratione interficiunt; pecora in fanis trucidant verius passim quam rite sacrificant. Satiati caede animantium, quae inanima erant parietibus adfligunt,[3] vasa omnis generis usui magis quam ornamento in speciem facta. Q. Petilius consul, ne absente se debellaretur, litteras ad C. Claudium misit ut cum exercitu ad se in Galliam veniret: Campis Macris se eum expectaturum. Litteris acceptis Claudius ex Liguribus castra movit exercitumque ad Campos Macros consuli tradidit. Eodem[4] paucis post diebus C. Valerius consul alter venit. Ibi divisis copiis, prius[5] quam digrederentur,[6] communiter ambo exercitus lustraverunt. Tum sortiti, quia non ab eadem utrumque parte aggredi hostem placebat, regiones quas peterent. Valerium auspicato sortitum constabat, quod in templo fuisset; in Petilio

[1] muroque *Fr.*: mvrosqve V.
[2] sunt *add. Duker.*
[3] adfligvnt (*ex corr.*) V.: adfligunt *coni. edd. nonnulli.*
[4] eodem *Fr.*: eodemtempore V.
[5] prius *add. Fr.*
[6] digrederentur *ed. Frob.* 1535: congrederentvr V.

[1] Cf. *supra*, xii. 8.
[2] Most editors bracket either *ornamento* or *in speciem* as a gloss on the other. I have retained both, also the MS. *adfligunt*

unhappily[1] for them, occupied the two mountains, B.C. 176
Letum and Ballista, and in addition surrounded them by a wall. Those who were slow in moving from the fields were cut off and destroyed to the number of fifteen hundred; the rest kept within the mountains and not even in their fear forgetting their natural fierceness, they raged against the booty which had been taken at Mutina. The prisoners they slew after mutilating them cruelly; the beasts they butchered, scattered among the shrines, rather than sacrificed according to ritual. Sated with the slaughter of their living plunder, things which were inanimate, utensils of every sort, made for use rather than as ornaments to be looked at, they dashed against the walls.[2] The consul Quintus Petilius, fearing lest the war should be finished in his absence, wrote to Gaius Claudius that he should bring the army to meet him in Gaul: he would await them, he said, at Campi Macri.[3] Claudius, on receipt of the letter, moved his camp from the Ligurian territory and at Campi Macri turned his army over to the consul. Thither a few days later Gaius Valerius, the other consul, came. There, dividing their forces, before they separated the two jointly purified the armies. Then, because they had determined that the two should not approach the enemy from the same direction, they cast lots for the districts to which they should direct their march. It was evident that Valerius cast his lot in accordance with the requirements for auspices, because he was in the consecrated

for the commonly accepted conjecture *adfigunt*; having finished with human beings they vented their rage upon inanimate objects.
[3] In the territory of Modena.

A.U.C. 578

id vitii [1] factum postea augures responderunt, quod extra templum sortem in sitellam † in templum latam foris ipse oporteret.[2] Profecti inde [3] in diversas regiones. Petilius adversus Ballistae et Leti iugum, quod eos [4] montes perpetuo dorso inter se iungit, castra habuit. Ibi adhortantem eum pro contione milites, immemorem ambiguitatis verbi, ominatum [5] ferunt se eo die Letum capturum [6] esse. Duabus simul partibus subire in adversos montes coepit. Ea pars in qua ipse erat impigre succedebat. Alteram hostes cum propulissent, ut restitueret rem inclinatam, consul equo advectus suos quidem a [7] fuga revocavit, ipse, dum incautius ante signa obversatur, missili traiectus cecidit. Nec hostes ducem occisum senserunt, et suorum pauci qui viderant haud neglegenter, ut qui in eo victoriam verti scirent, corpus occultavere. Alia multitudo peditum equitumque deturbatis hostibus montis sine duce cepere. Ad quinque milia Ligurum occisa; ex Romano exercitu duo et quinquaginta ceciderunt. Super tam evidentem tristis ominis eventum etiam ex

[1] vitii *Madvig*: vitio V.
[2] quod . . . oporteret *the reading of* V. *For various conjectural restorations see the apparatus of Giarratano and the note opposite under the translation.*
[3] inde *Fr.*: in V.
[4] eos *Fr.*: eo V.
[5] verbi ominatum *Fr.*: verbisomniatvm V.
[6] capturum *Fr.*: factvrvm V.
[7] [statim] a fuga *Weissenborn*; media in fuga *Madvig*; e (*vel* ex) tam effusa fuga *Hertz*: etiamfuga V.

[1] The state of the text and our ignorance of the details of *sortitio* prevent our coming nearer than an approximation to the meaning. It is particularly difficult to determine what

space; the augurs later declared that this fault had existed in the case of Petilius—namely, the lot, which had been cast into the urn outside of the consecrated space, had been drawn by him while he was still outside of the consecrated area, although he should have been inside of it.[1] From Campi Macri they marched in different directions. Petilius had his camp facing the height of Ballista and Letum, which joins these mountains with a continuous ridge. Then, while he was encouraging the soldiers before the assembly, not thinking of the double meaning of the word, they said that he used the ominous expression that on that day he would gain Letum.[2] He began to march up the hills in front on two sides at once. The column in which he himself was advanced vigorously. When the enemy had repulsed the other, Petilius, in order to restore the wavering line, riding up on his horse, did indeed rally his men from their flight, but he himself, while riding before the standards with too little caution, fell struck with a javelin. But the enemy did not perceive that the commander had been killed, and the few of his own men who had seen it concealed his body with great care, knowing that victory depended on it. The rest of the body of infantry and cavalry dislodged the enemy and took the mountains without their general. About five thousand of the Ligurians were killed: of the Roman army fifty-two fell. In addition to this so manifest fulfilment of an omen of evil, it was

B.C. 176

happened since the error of Petilius was so slight that it escaped detection at the time.
[2] As a common noun, *letum* means "death." Valerius Maximus (I. v. 9) tells the same story: Hodie ego Letum utique capiam.

A.U.C. 578

pullario auditum est[1] vitium in auspicio fuisse, nec
15 id consulem ignorasse. C. Valerius audita.[2] . . .
16 Periti[3] religionum iurisque publici, quando duo ordinarii consules eius anni, alter morbo, alter ferro perisset, suffectum consulem negabant recte comitia habere posse. . . .[4] deduxit.

A.U.C. 579

XIX. Cis Appenninum Garuli et Lapicini et Hergates, trans Appenninum Friniates fuerant, intra[5] Audenam amnem. P. Mucius cum iis, qui Lunam Pisasque depopulati erant, bellum gessit, omnibusque
2 in dicionem redactis arma ademit. Ob eas res in

[1] est *Fr.* : se V.

[2] *periit quaternio quartus codicis praeter f.g. a* deduxit *incipiens.*

[3] *verba* Periti . . . posse *ex Prisciani* xvii xxix *huc revocavit Sigonius.*

[4] *Vid. quae de* audita *dixi, supra* § 15.

[5] intra *Crévier* : inter V.

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[1] The manner of feeding of the sacred chickens determined whether the omens were favourable or unfavourable. The auspices were often taken thus before a battle.

[2] The loss of nearly an entire quaternion of V (see critical note) makes it impossible to determine the rest of the sentence. Livy's narrative recognizes the rashness of Petilius (cf. especially *incautius ante signa* in sec. 4), but the senate seems to have emphasized his bravery when it decreed that the legion was remiss in the performance of its duty, that its year's pay should be withheld and its wages reduced : cf. Valerius Maximus II. vii. 15 (confirmed by the briefer account in Frontinus, *Stratagems* IV. i. 46) : Graviter senatus tulit, quod Q. Petilium consulem fortissime adversus Ligures pugnantem occidere milites passi essent. Legioni neque stipendium anni procedere neque aera dari voluit, quia pro salute imperatoris se telis non obtulerant.

Since V has suffered an equally heavy loss at the end of chap. xix., it is impossible to tell whether there was in Livy some reference to Macedonia.

also learned from the keeper of the chickens[1] that B.C. 176
there had been a flaw in the auspices, and that the consul had not been unaware of this. Gaius Valerius, hearing. . . .[2] Those who were skilled in the rules of religion and in public law said that, since the two regular consuls of the year had perished, the one from disease, the other in battle, a substituted consul could not properly conduct an election . . .[3] brought them down.

XIX. The Garuli, the Lapicini and the Hergates B.C. 175
had lived on this side of the Apennines, the Friniates beyond them and on this side of the river Audena.[4] Publius Mucius waged war on the tribes that had ravaged Luna and Pisa and disarmed them when all had been reduced to surrender. By reason of the

[3] Sigonius inserted here this sentence quoted by Priscian (see the critical note) from Book XLI. It is obviously concerned with this year, since at no other time covered by this Book did both the regular consuls die in office. It appears that a *consul suffectus*, i.e. one elected to fill a vacancy, could not preside at an election. Their only recourse, then, was the appointment of an interrex, and this procedure and the elections for the year 175 B.C. were no doubt described in the text lost between *posse* and *deduxit*. The last word may refer to some such compulsory migrations as described in XL. xxxviii. 2 ff.

The names of the magistrates for 175 B.C. can be recovered from the Fasti and other sources. The consuls were Mucius Scaevola (xix. 1 below) and M. Aemilius Lepidus II (Oros. IV. xx. 34). The praetors were C. Popilius Laenas, T. Annius Luscus, C. Memmius Gallus (?), C. Cluvius Saxula, Ser. Cornelius Sulla, Ap. Claudius Cento.

[4] These tribes were perhaps those transported to new homes : see the preceding note. If the Friniates are the tribe mentioned in XXXIX. ii. 1, they seem to have lived *cis Appenninum*, although the flight of some of them beyond the mountains is reported in that chapter. The river Audena has not been identified.

A.U.C. 579

Gallia Liguribusque gestas duorum consulum ductu auspicioque senatus in triduum supplicationes decrevit et quadraginta hostiis sacrificari iussit.

3 Et tumultus quidem Gallicus et Ligustinus, qui principio eius anni exortus fuerat, haud magno
4 conatu[1] brevi oppressus erat; belli Macedonici subibat iam cura, miscente Perseo inter Dardanos Bastarnasque certamina. Et legati qui missi ad res visendas in Macedoniam erant, iam reverterant Romam renuntiaverantque bellum in Dardania esse.
5 Simul venerant et ab rege Perseo oratores qui purgarent nec accitos ab eo Bastarnas nec auctore
6 eo quidquam facere. Senatus nec liberavit[2] eius culpae regem neque arguit; moneri eum tantum modo iussit, ut etiam atque etiam curaret ut sanctum habere foedus quod ei cum Romanis esset,[3] videri
7 posset. Dardani cum Bastarnas non modo non excedere finibus suis, quod speraverant, sed graviores fieri in dies cernerent, subnixos Thracum accolarum et Scordiscorum auxiliis, audendum aliquid vel temere[4] rati, omnes undique armati ad oppidum quod proximum castris Bastarnarum erat con-

[1] magno conatu *Fr.*: magnvs conatvs V.
[2] nec liberavit *Fr.*: neliberare V.
[3] habere foedus quod ei cum Romanis esset *Jakob Gronovius*: haberetesse V.
[4] temere *Fr.*: temerare V.

[1] Cf. especially XL. lvii. for Philip's plan to profit by the wars of these peoples.
[2] This embassy has not been mentioned, since Livy has said little about Macedonian affairs since 178 B.C. He now proceeds to fill up that gap.

successes in Gaul and among the Ligurians under the B.C. 175 leadership and auspices of the two consuls, the senate decreed a thanksgiving for three days and ordered the sacrifice of forty victims.

And indeed the Gallic and Ligurian uprising, which had broken out in the beginning of the year, was quickly suppressed with no great effort; now the anxiety as to the Macedonian War beset them, since Perseus was stirring up conflicts between the Dardanians and the Bastarnae.[1] And the ambassadors[2] who had been sent to investigate the situation in Macedonia had already returned to Rome and had reported that war in Dardania was now in progress. At the same time envoys had also arrived from King Perseus, who were to explain on his behalf[3] that he had neither invited the Bastarnae nor was he instigating any of their actions. The senate neither absolved him of this blame nor charged him with it; they merely ordered that he be warned to take redoubled care to make it appear that he was respecting the treaty which was in force between him and the Romans.[4] When the Dardanians saw that the Bastarnae were not only not leaving their territory, as they had hoped, but were growing more troublesome every day, and were relying on the aid of the neighbouring Thracians and the Scordisci, they decided that they must venture something, even rashly, and all from all sides met in arms at the town which was nearest to the camp of the Bastarnae. It was winter,

[3] Appian, *Macedonian Wars* IX. xi. 1 refers to this embassy, which Livy has not mentioned before: ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς ἑτέρους ἔπεμπε πρέσβεις τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκλύων.
[4] Cf. XL. lviii. 9. It would seem that the senate was satisfied with a show of observance of the treaty.

A.U.C. 579

8 veniunt. Hiems erat, et id anni tempus elegerant, ut Thraces Scordiscique in fines suos abirent. Quod ubi ita factum et solos iam esse Bastarnas audierunt, bifariam dividunt copias, pars ut recto itinere ad lacessendum ex aperto iret, pars devio saltu circum-
9 ducta ab tergo aggrederetur. Ceterum priusquam circumire castra hostium possent, pugnatum est; victique Dardani compelluntur in urbem, quae fere duodecim milia ab castris Bastarnarum aberat.
10 Victores confestim secuti [1] circumsidunt urbem, haud dubie postero die aut metu dedituris se hostibus aut
11 vi expugnaturi. Interim Dardanorum altera manus, quae circumducta erat, ignara cladis suorum, castra Bastarnarum sine praesidio relicta cepit.[2] . . .

XX. . . . Romano more,[3] sella eburnea posita, ius dicebat disceptabatque controversias minimarum
2 rerum. Adeoque nulli fortunae adhaerebat animus per omnia genera vitae errans, uti nec sibi nec aliis
3 quinam homo esset satis constaret. Non adloqui amicos, vix notis familiariter arridere, munificentia inaequali sese aliosque ludificari; quibusdam [4]

[1] secuti *Vahlen*: vti V.
[2] relicta cepit *Madvig*: relic V, *sic desinens*: *vid. quae dixi supra de* audita, xviii. 15.
[3] Romano more *Muretus*: more V, *cuius quaternio V periit praeter f.* 10.
[4] quibusdam *Fr.*: qvibvs V.

[1] At this point begins the other large lacuna, due to the loss of almost an entire quaternion of V. The narrative may have included an account of the tragic fate of the Bastarnae, who, returning home after the capture of their camp, were almost all drowned when the ice in the Danube broke while they were crossing (Orosius IV. xx). It must also have introduced

and they had chosen that season in order that the B.C. 175
Thracians and Scordisci might then depart to their own countries. When they learned that this had occurred as they had expected and that the Bastarnae were now alone, they divided their forces into two columns, one to march by the straight road to assail openly, the other, led around by an out-of-the-way pass, to attack from the rear. But before they could surround the camp of the enemy the battle took place; and the defeated Dardanians were driven back into the town, which was about twelve miles distant from the camp of the Bastarnae. The victors followed in haste and invested the city, expecting confidently that the next day either the enemy would surrender on account of fear or they would take the town by storm. Meanwhile the other column of the Dardanians, which had followed the circuitous route, being ignorant of the defeat of their comrades, captured the camp of the Bastarnae, which had been left without a guard.[1]

XX. Antiochus, setting up an ivory chair in the Roman fashion, would administer justice and adjudge disputes on the most trifling matters. And so incapable was his mind of sticking to any station in life, as it strayed through all the varieties of existence that it was not really clear either to himself or to others what kind of person he was.[2] It was his habit not to speak to his friends, to smile at mere acquaintances in a most friendly way, and with an inconsistent generosity to make himself and others laugh-

Antiochus Epiphanes, long a hostage at Rome, who succeeded his brother on the throne of their father, Antiochus the Great.
[2] Polybius XXVI. i illustrates this: he would mix with all sorts of persons.

honoratis magnoque aestimantibus se puerilia, ut escae aut lusus, munera dare, alios nihil expectantes ditare. Itaque nescire quid sibi vellet[1] quibusdam videri; quidam ludere eum simpliciter, quidam haud dubie insanire aiebant.[2] In duabus tamen magnis honestisque rebus vere regius erat animus, in urbium donis et deorum cultu. Megalopolitanis in Arcadia murum se circumdaturum urbi est pollicitus maioremque partem pecuniae dedit; Tegeae theatrum[3] magnificum e marmore facere instituit; Cyzici in[4] prytaneo—id est penetrale urbis, ubi publice, quibus is honos datus est, vescuntur—vasa aurea mensae unius posuit. Rhodiis ut[5] nihil unum insigne, ita omnis generis, ut quaeque usus eorum postulaverunt, dona dedit. Magnificentiae vero in deos vel Iovis Olympii templum Athenis, unum in terris incohatum pro magnitudine dei, potest testis[6] esse; sed et Delum aris insignibus statuarumque copia exornavit, et Antiochiae Iovis Capitolini magnificum templum, non laqueatum auro tantum, sed parietibus totis lammina inauratum, et alia multa in aliis locis pollicitus, quia perbreve tempus regni eius fuit, non perfecit. Spectaculorum quoque omnis generis magnificentia

A.U.C. 579

[1] quid sibi vellet *Fr.*: qvidsividbivellet (*sic*) V.
[2] insanire aiebant *Fr.*: inseanebant (*sic*) V.
[3] Tegeae theatrum *Fr.*: thegetea V.
[4] in *add. Fr.*
[5] ut *add. Freinsheim.*
[6] testis *add. Fr.*

[1] This temple of Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος was begun by Pisistratus and completed by Hadrian: cf. Pausanias I. xviii. 6.
[2] He reigned eleven years in all, but his enthusiasm for building may not have begun at once.

ing-stocks; to some, men of distinction who held themselves in high esteem, he would give childish presents, as of food or toys, others, who expected nothing, he would make rich. And so he seemed to some not to know what he wanted; some said that he was playing childish tricks, some that he was unquestionably insane. Nevertheless in two great and important respects his soul was truly royal—in his benefactions to cities and in the honours paid to the gods. To the people of Megalopolis in Arcadia he promised that he would enclose their city with a wall, and he gave the greater part of the money; at Tegea he began to build a magnificent theatre of marble; in the prytaneum at Cyzicus—this is the central hall of the city, where those men dine upon whom this distinction has been bestowed—he furnished a golden service for one table. While he gave the Rhodians nothing remarkable, yet he gave them gifts of every description, whatever their needs demanded. Of his magnificent ideas as to the treatment of the gods, the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, the only one in the world which, though unfinished,[1] was designed to conform to the greatness of the god, can well be evidence; besides, he also adorned Delos with marvellous altars and abundance of statuary, and at Antioch he built a magnificent temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, which had not merely its ceiling panelled with gold, but also its walls wholly covered with gilded plates; and many other things he promised in other places, but by reason of the very short duration of his reign[2] he did not finish them. Also in regard to the splendour of his shows of every sort he surpassed earlier kings, his other spectacles being given in their own

B.C. 175

A.U.C. 579

superiores reges vicit, reliquorum sui moris et copia
11 Graecorum artificum; gladiatorum munus, Romanae consuetudinis, primo maiore cum terrore hominum, insuetorum ad tale spectaculum, quam voluptate
12 dedit; deinde saepius dando et modo volneribus tenus, modo sine missione, etiam [1] familiare oculis gratumque id spectaculum fecit, et armorum stu-
13 dium [2] plerisque iuvenum accendit. Itaque qui primo [3] ab Roma magnis pretiis [4] paratos gladiatores accersere solitus erat, iam suo. . . .[5] Scipio [6] inter peregrinos.

A.U.C. 580

XXI. M. Atilio praetori provincia Sardinia obve-
2 nerat; sed cum legione nova quam consules conscripserant, quinque milibus peditum, trecentis equitibus in Corsicam iussus est transire. Dum is ibi bellum gereret, Cornelio prorogatum imperium,
3 uti obtineret Sardiniam. Cn. Servilio Caepioni in Hispaniam ulteriorem et P. Furio Philo in citeriorem tria milia peditum Romanorum,[7] equites centum quinquaginta, et socium Latini nominis quinque

[1] etiam *Madvig*: etiamet V.
[2] studium *Fr.*: stvdiorvm V.
[3] qui primo *Fr.*: primoqvi.
[4] pretiis *Kreyssig*: praedis V.
[5] *a* suo *desinit* V: *vid. quae dixi supra de* Romano more, XX. 1.
[6] Scipio *Sigonius*: pio V, *f.* 11r *sic incipiens.*
[7] peditum Romanorum *Fr.*: peditvmromanorvmpeditvm V.

[1] I.e., according to the Greek way of giving them.
[2] τεχνῖται of various kinds, such as actors, choristers, flutists, etc.
[3] I have supplied a possible conclusion to the sentence. The lacuna which follows doubtless recorded the elections for the year 174 B.C.: the last clause of the chapter records the

proper [1] style and with an abundance of Greek thea- B.C. 175
trical artists;[2] a gladiatorial exhibition, after the Roman fashion, he presented which was at first received with greater terror than pleasure on the part of men who were unused to such sights; then by frequent repetitions, by sometimes allowing the fighters to go only as far as wounding one another, sometimes permitting them to fight without giving quarter, he made the sight familiar and even pleasing, and he roused in many of the young men a joy in arms. And so, while at first he had been accustomed to summon gladiators from Rome, procuring them by large fees, finally he could find a sufficient supply at home. . . .[3] Scipio the jurisdiction between citizens and aliens.

XXI. The lot had given the province of Sardinia B.C. 174
to Marcus Atilius the praetor; but he was ordered, with the new legion which the consuls had enlisted, consisting of five thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, to cross over to Corsica. As long as he should be engaged in the war there, the *imperium* of Cornelius [4] was prolonged, in order that he might hold Sardinia. For Gnaeus Servilius Caepio in Farther Spain and for Publius Furius Philus in Nearer Spain were enlisted three thousand Roman infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry, and of the allies of the Latin confederacy five thou-

assignment of a praetorian province. The consuls for 174 B.C. were Sp. Postumius Albinus and Q. Mucius Scaevola; the praetors C. Cassius Longinus, P. Furius Philus, L. Claudius Asellus, M. Atilius Serranus, Cn. Servilius Caepio and L. (or Cn.) Cornelius Scipio son of Africanus (cf. the note to XXVII. 2 below).
[4] Probably Servius Cornelius Sulla: cf. the note to XVIII. 16 above.

A.U.C. 580

milia peditum, trecenti equites, Sicilia L. Claudio
4 sine supplemento decreta. Duas praeterea legiones consules scribere iussi cum iusto numero peditum equitumque, et decem milia peditum sociis imperare
5 et sescentos equites. Dilectus consulibus eo difficilior erat quod pestilentia quae priore anno in boves ingruerat[1] eo verterat[2] in hominum morbos. Qui inciderant, haud facile septimum diem superabant; qui superaverant, longinquo, maxime quartanae,
6 implicabantur morbo. Servitia maxime moriebantur; eorum strages per omnes vias insepultorum erat. Ne liberorum quidem funeribus Libitina sufficiebat. Cadavera intacta a canibus ac volturibus[3]
7 tabes absumebat; satisque constabat nec illo nec priore anno in tanta strage boum hominumque
8 volturium usquam visum. Sacerdotes publici ea pestilentia mortui sunt Cn. Servilius Caepio pontifex, pater praetoris, et Ti. Sempronius Ti. filius Longus decemvir sacrorum et P. Aelius Paetus augur et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus et C. Mamilius Atellus[4] curio maximus et[5] M. Sempronius Tuditanus
9 pontifex.[6] Pontifices suffecti sunt C. Sulpicius Galba . . .[7] in locum Tuditani. Augures suffecti

[1] ingruerat *Fr.*: ingrveret V.
[2] verterat *Sigonius*: verteret V.
[3] vulturibus *Fr.*: volneribvs V.
[4] C. Mamilius Atellus *Wesenberg*: C. atellivs. aemilivs (*sic*) V.
[5] et *add. ed. Frobeniana* 1535
[6] pontifex *add. Fr.*
[7] *lacunam indicavit Fr.*; *pro supplementis multi multa frustra.*

[1] A malady of the ague type, more serious every fourth day.
[2] Cf. XL. xix. 3.

sand infantry and three hundred cavalry, and Sicily B.C. 174
was decreed to Lucius Claudius without reinforcements. The consuls were directed to enroll in addition two legions with the regular numbers of infantry and cavalry and to call upon the allies for ten thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry. The levy was more difficult for the consuls because the plague which had attacked the cattle the year before had this year turned into a disease which attacked men. Those who were assailed by it did not easily survive the seventh day; those who had survived that length of time suffered from a lingering disease, usually quartan.[1] The slaves especially died; and along all the roads there were piles of their unburied bodies. Libitina[2] sufficed not even for the funerals of free men. The corpses, untouched by dogs and vultures, were consumed by decay; and it was generally observed that neither in this nor in the previous year, in spite of the great mortality of cattle and men, was a vulture seen anywhere. Of official priests, there perished in this epidemic Gnaeus Servilius Caepio, a pontifex, father of the praetor, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, the son of Tiberius, decemvir in charge of sacrifices, and Publius Aelius Paetus, an augur, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, an augur, Gaius Mamilius Atellus, the *curio maximus*,[3] and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, a pontiff. As pontiffs there were appointed Gaius Sulpicius Galba . . . in the place of Tuditanus.[4] Augurs

[3] The *curio maximus* was the chief priest of the curiones of the thirty curiae.
[4] The existence of a lacuna is evidenced by the fact that only one new appointment is mentioned while there were two vacancies. Any restoration is a guess.

A.U.C. 580

sunt in Gracchi locum T. Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus, in P. Aeli,[1] Q. Aelius Paetus. Decemvir sacrorum C. Sempronius Longus, curio maximus
10 C. Scribonius Curio sufficitur. Cum pestilentiae finis non fieret, senatus decrevit uti decemviri libros
11 Sibyllinos adirent. Ex decreto eorum diem unum supplicatio fuit, et Q. Marcio Philippo verba praeeunte populus in foro votum concepit, si morbus pestilentiaque ex agro Romano emota esset, biduum
12 ferias [2] ac supplicationem se habiturum. In Veienti agro biceps natus puer, et Sinuessae unimanus, et Auximi [3] puella cum dentibus, et arcus interdiu sereno caelo super aedem Saturni in foro Romano
13 intentus, et tres simul soles effulserunt, et faces eadem nocte plures per caelum lapsae sunt, et Lanuvini [4] Caeritesque anguem in oppido suo iubatum, flavis [5] maculis sparsum, apparuisse affirmabant, et in agro Campano bovem locutum esse satis constabat.

XXII. Legati nonis Iuniis [6] ex Africa redierunt, qui convento prius Masinissa rege Carthaginem

[1] in P. Aelii *Fr.*: inpelli V.
[2] ferias *Fr.*: fvrias V.
[3] et Auximi *Cluver*: oximi V, *cuius margo f.* 12 *abscinditur, qua de causa multas parvas lacunas suppl. Fr., quam ego seculus sum.*
[4] Lanuvini *Sigonius*: inlanvino V.
[5] flavis *Weissenborn*: avis V.
[6] nonis Iuniis *Sigonius*: ix.mil. V.

[1] The name is peculiar and the cognomen *Gracchus* may be a scribe's repetition of the same word just preceding.
[2] Almost all the names above are partially restorations and therefore uncertain. Details are not fully reported in the critical notes.
[3] Cf., e.g. XXXI. xii. 9.

were chosen in the stead of Gracchus—Titus B.C. 174
Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus [1] and, to replace Publius Aelius, Quintus Aelius Paetus. As decemvir in charge of sacrifices Gaius Sempronius Longus and as *curio maximus* Gaius Scribonius Curio [2] were chosen. Since the pestilence would not come to an end, the senate decreed that the decemvirs should consult the Sibylline Books.[3] In accordance with their decree a day of prayer was observed, and as Quintus Marcius Philippus [4] dictated the formula, the people, assembled in the Forum, undertook a vow that if the disease and plague should have been banished from Roman territory they would celebrate a festival and thanksgiving for two days. In the territory of Veii a boy with two heads was born, and at Sinuessa a boy with one hand, and at Auximum a girl with teeth; and a rainbow by day in a clear sky was seen extending over the temple of Saturn in the Forum Romanum, and three suns shone at once, and that same night numerous firebrands glided through the sky, and the people of Lanuvium and Caere asserted that a crested serpent dotted with yellow spots had appeared in their towns, and in the Campanian land there was ample evidence that a cow had spoken.

XXII. On the Nones of June the ambassadors returned from Africa [5] who, after first interviewing King Masinissa, had gone to Carthage; but they

[4] He was a pontifex (XL. xlii. 12), but it is not known why he was selected for this particular task.
[5] The sending of this embassy has not been mentioned, and it clearly had nothing to do with the boundary dispute of XL. xvii. The emendation which gives the exact date of the return of the embassy may well be wrong.

A.U.C. 580

ierant; ceterum certius aliquanto quae Carthagine acta essent, ab rege scierant quam ab ipsis Carthaginiensibus. Compertum tamen affirmaverunt legatos ab rege Perseo venisse, iisque noctu senatum in aede Aesculapi datum esse. Ab Carthagine legatos in Macedoniam missos et rex affirmaverat et ipsi parum constanter negaverant. In Macedoniam quoque mittendos legatos senatus censuit. Tres missi sunt, C. Laelius, M. Valerius Messalla, Sex. Digitius.

Perseus per id tempus, quia quidam Dolopum non parebant et de quibus ambigebatur rebus disceptationem ab rege ad Romanos revocabant, cum exercitu profectus sub ius iudiciumque suum totam coegit gentem. Inde per Oetaeos montes transgressus, religionibus quibusdam animo obiectis, oraculum [1] aditurus Delphos ascendit. Cum in media repente Graecia apparuisset, magnum non finitimis modo urbibus terrorem praebuit, sed [2] in Asiam quoque ad regem Eumenen nuntios tumultuosos [3] misit. Triduum non plus Delphis moratus, per Phthiotidem

[1] oraculum *Fr.*: oracivm V.
[2] praebuit sed *Fr.*: praebvisset V.
[3] tumultuosos *Hertz*: tvmvltvo V: *vid. quae dixi de* et Auximi, xxi. 12.

[1] Livy here turns to affairs in the east and follows Polybius as his source.

[2] The Dolopians had been liberated in 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxxiv. 6), reconquered by Philip with Roman consent in 191 B.C. (XXXVI. xxxiii. 7), while their status after the settlement of 185 B.C. (XXXIX. xxvi. 14) was somewhat uncertain. Perseus obviously claimed some sort of authority over them, and from XLII. xli. 14 it would seem that their "disobedience" amounted to actual revolt. In 185 B.C. Rome had ordered

had received much more accurate information as to what had been going on in Carthage from the king than from the Carthaginians themselves. Nevertheless they reported it as an ascertained fact that ambassadors had come from King Perseus and had been given an audience by night before the senate, assembled in the temple of Aesculapius. The king, moreover, had asserted that envoys had been sent from Carthage to Macedonia, and the Carthaginians had denied this without very much firmness. The senate decreed that ambassadors should also be sent to Macedonia. Three were dispatched, Gaius Laelius, Marcus Valerius Messalla, and Sextus Digitius. B.C. 174

Perseus [1] about this time, because certain of the Dolopians [2] were insubordinate and wanted to refer the arbitration of the matters which were in dispute to the Romans instead of to the king, setting out with his army brought the whole district under his sovereignty and sway. Thence, crossing over the Oetaean mountains, since certain religious difficulties beset his mind, he climbed up to Delphi to consult the oracle. When he had suddenly appeared in the midst of Greece, he not merely roused great terror in the neighbouring cities but even caused the dispatch of excited messages to King Eumenes in Asia.[3] Having tarried in Delphi not more than three days, he returned through Phthiotic Achaea

Philip to stay inside the ancient boundaries of Macedonia, and the conduct of Perseus now is in fact, if not literally, a defiance of Rome.

[3] I take the liberty of translating *misit* thus rather than venture on further emendation, since the loss of text in V is small.

A.U.C. 580

Achaiam Thessaliamque sine damno iniuriaque eorum, per quorum fines [1] iter fecit, in regnum rediit. 7 Nec earum tantum civitatium per quas iturus erat satis habuit animos sibi conciliare; aut legatos aut litteras dimisit, petens, ne diutius simultatum quae cum patre suo fuissent meminissent; nec enim tam atroces fuisse eas, ut non cum ipso potuerint ac 8 debuerint finiri; secum quidem omnia illis integra esse ad [2] instituendam fideliter amicitiam; cum Achaeorum maxime gente reconciliandae gratiae viam quaerebat.

XXIII. Haec una ex omni Graecia gens et Atheniensium civitas eo processerat irarum, ut 2 finibus interdiceret Macedonibus. Itaque servitiis ex Achaia fugientibus receptaculum Macedonia erat, quia, cum finibus suis iis [3] interdixissent, intrare 3 regni terminos ipsi non audebant. Id cum Perseus animadvertisset, comprensis omnibus litterae. . . .[4] Ceterum ne similis fuga servorum postea fieret, 4 cogitandum et illis esse. Recitatis his litteris per Xenarchum praetorem, qui privatae gratiae aditum

[1] eorum per quorum fines *Madvig*: vmperqvorvm V.
[2] ad *add. Fr.*
[3] iis *add. Perizonius.*
[4] *lacunam indicavit Fr.*

[1] The tense would indicate that these negotiations had preceded his visit to Delphi, but this conclusion seems to be contradicted by the account in sect. 5 of the effect actually produced on the Greeks. Perhaps something has been lost from the text to indicate that Perseus was planning to unite all Greece against the Romans.

[2] The corresponding portion of Polybius is lost, and we have no confirmation of this statement regarding the Achaeans. For Athens, Livy may have in mind the violent anti-Macedonian legislation of 200 B.C. (XXXI. xliv).

and Thessaly to his kingdom without doing any damage or injury to those through whose lands he marched. Nor was he content with winning the good will of only those states through which he was planning to march;[1] he sent out either ambassadors or letters, asking that they should no longer remember the quarrels in which they had engaged with his father; for, he said, they had not been so serious that they could not and should not be ended with him; so far as he was concerned at least, everything was in order for a faithful establishment of friendly relations with them; with the people of the Achaeans especially he was seeking for a way of restoring good feeling. B.C. 174

XXIII. This one people out of all Greece, together with the Athenian state, had gone so far in their anger as to exclude Macedonians from their territories.[2] And so when slaves escaped from Achaea Macedonia was a refuge for them because, since the Achaeans had forbidden the Macedonians to enter their country, they themselves did not dare to cross the frontiers of their kingdom. Accordingly, when Perseus had become aware of this, he arrested all the fugitives [and sent letters graciously promising to restore such slaves to them].[3] But, he added, they too should take measures that similar escapes of slaves should not happen in future. When this letter was read by their general Xenarchus, who was seeking for an opportunity to curry favour personally

[3] I have rendered in a somewhat abbreviated form the thought which Sigonius reconstructed on the strength of the indications contained in sect. 4 and 15 below, but have not ventured to insert in the text the Latin of his conjectural restoration.

A.U.C. 580

apud regem quaerebat, et plerisque moderate et benigne scriptas esse censentibus litteras, atque iis maxime, qui praeter spem recepturi essent amissa
5 mancipia, Callicrates ex iis, qui in eo verti salutem gentis crederent, si cum Romanis inviolatum foedus servaretur
6 "Parva" inquit "aut mediocris res, Achaei, quibusdam videtur agi: ego maxime gravissimam omnium[1] non agi tantum arbitror sed quodam modo actam esse. Nam qui regibus Macedonum Macedonibusque ipsis finibus interdixissemus manereque id decretum sciremus, quo caveramus,[2]
7 scilicet ne legatos, ne nuntios admitteremus regum, per quos aliquorum ex nobis animi sollicitarentur, ii contionantem quodam modo absentem audimus regem, et, si dis placet, orationem eius probamus.
8 Et cum ferae bestiae cibum ad fraudem suam positum plerumque aspernentur et refugiant, nos caeci specie parvi beneficii inescamur et servulorum minimi pretii recipiendorum spe nostram ipsorum libertatem subrui
9 et temptari[3] patimur. Quis enim non videt viam regiae societatis quaeri, qua Romanum foedus, quo[4] nostra omnia continentur, violetur? Nisi hoc dubium alicui est, bellandum Romanis cum Perseo esse et, quod vivo Philippo expectatum, morte eius

[1] omnium *Fr.*: omnivmqve V.
[2] sciremus, quo caveramus *add. Vahlen.*
[3] tentari *Fr.*: temptare V.
[4] quo *Fr.*: qva V.

[1] It is not certain how many cities again had pro-Macedonian parties, but it is reasonable to believe that the anti-Roman sentiment had thus crystallized.

Xenarchus was *strategus* in 175–174 B.C., and these events probably belong somewhat earlier than Livy represents them.

with the king, and when the majority believed that B.C. 174
it had been written in a spirit of moderation and kindliness, this being especially the view of those who were to recover, contrary to expectations, their lost slaves, Callicrates, one of those who believed that the safety of the state depended on whether the treaty with the Romans were preserved inviolate,[1] spoke as follows:

"The matter under discussion, Achaeans, appears to some to be trivial or of only moderate importance, but I for my part consider that a question by far the most serious of all is not only being decided, but somehow or other has been decided. For we who had forbidden to the kings of the Macedonians and to the Macedonians themselves admission to our territories and who knew that the decree was still in force, namely that by which we had made provision that we should not receive the ambassadors or the messengers of the kings, through whom the sentiments of some of us might be affected, we, I say, are now listening to the king who, so to say, speaks to us though absent, and (heaven help us!) we even approve his speech. And while wild beasts generally disdain and refuse food offered to entrap them, we, blind fools, are caught by the showy bait of a trifling kindness, and, in the hope of recovering some paltry slaves of the slightest value, permit our very liberty to be undermined and endangered. For who does not see that a way for an alliance with the king is being sought, whereby the Roman treaty, on which our whole fate depends, would be violated? Or is it doubtful to anybody that a war between the Romans and Perseus is inevitable, and that this war, anticipated while Philip was alive and postponed by

A.U.C. 580 interpellatum est, id post mortem Philippi futurum.
10 Duos ut scitis habuit filios Philippus, Demetrium et
Persea. Genere materno, virtute, ingenio, favore
11 Macedonum longe praestitit Demetrius. Sed quia
in Romanos odii regnum posuerat praemium, Deme-
trium nullo alio crimine quam Romanae amicitiae
initae occidit; Persea, quem belli cum[1] populo
Romano prius paene quam regni heredem futurum
12 sciebat, regem fecit. Itaque quid hic post mortem
patris egit aliud quam bellum paravit? Bastarnas
primum ad terrorem omnium in[2] Dardaniam immisit;
qui si sedem eam tenuissent, graviores eos accolas
13 Graecia habuisset quam Asia Gallos habebat.[3] Ea
spe depulsus non tamen belli consilia omisit; immo,
si vere volumus dicere, iam incohavit bellum. Dolo-
piam armis subegit nec provocantes[4] de contro-
versiis ad disceptationem populi Romani audivit.
Inde transgressus Oetam, ut repente in medio
umbilico Graeciae conspiceretur, Delphos ascendit.
14 Haec usurpatio itineris insoliti quo vobis spectare
videtur? Thessaliam deinde peragravit; quod sine
ullius eorum quos oderat noxa,[5] hoc magis tempta-
15 tionem metuo. Inde litteras ad nos cum muneris
specie misit et cogitare iubet, quo modo in reliquum
hoc munere non egeamus, hoc est, ut decretum,

[1] belli cum *add. Madvig.*
[2] in *add. J. F. Gronovius.*
[3] habebat *Weissenborn*: habeat V.
[4] provocantes *J. F. Gronovius*: provinciis V.
[5] noxa *Duker*: noxia V.

[1] The picture of Demetrius is in general consistent with that presented in earlier books.

his death, will come after the death of Philip? As you B.C. 174
know, Philip had two sons, Demetrius and Perseus.
In birth on his mother's side, in character, in intel-
lect, in influence with the Macedonians, Demetrius
far surpassed the other.[1] But because Philip had set
up the throne as a prize for hatred of the Romans,
he put Demetrius to death, for no other crime than
that he had cultivated the friendship of the Romans;
Perseus he made king, knowing that he would
inherit a war with the Roman people almost before
he could inherit the throne. Accordingly, what has he
done after his father's death except prepare for war?
First, to the alarm of all, he turned the Bastarnae
loose into Dardania, and if they had retained this
district Greece would have found them neighbours
more dangerous than Asia found the Gauls.[2] Dis-
appointed in that hope, he nevertheless did not
abandon his plans for the war; no: if we are willing
to speak frankly, he has already begun the war.
Dolopia he has overrun with arms, and when they
wished to appeal in their disputes to the arbitrament
of the Roman people he paid no heed.[3] Next,
crossing Oeta, so that he suddenly appeared at the
very navel of Greece, he climbed up to Delphi.
Toward what, do you think, does this assumption
of the right to travel an unaccustomed route tend?
Then he traversed Thessaly; but if he did so without
injuring in any way men whom he hated, all the
more do I fear his scheming. Next he directed a
letter to us, under pretence of doing us a service,
and bids us consider how we shall not need this
service in future, that is, that we shall repeal the

[2] Cf. XXXVIII. xlvii. 11.
[3] Cf. xxii. 4 and note above.

A.U.C. 580

16 quo arcentur Peloponneso Macedones, tollamus, rursus legatos regios et hospitia cum principibus et mox Macedonum exercitus, ipsum quoque a Delphis (quantum enim interfluit fretum?)[1] traicientem in Peloponnesum videamus, immisceamur[2] Macedoni-
17 bus armantibus se adversus Romanos. Ego nihil novi censeo decernendum servandaque omnia integra donec ad certum redigatur[3] vanusne hic timor noster
18 an verus fuerit. Si pax inviolata inter Macedonas Romanosque manebit, nobis quoque amicitia et commercium sit; nunc de eo cogitare[4] periculosum et immaturum videtur."

XXIV. Post hunc Archo, frater Xenarchi praetoris, ita disseruit: "Difficilem orationem Callicrates et
2 mihi et omnibus qui ab eo dissentimus fecit: agendo enim Romanae societatis causam ipse temptarique et oppugnari dicendo, quam nemo neque temptat neque oppugnat, effecit[5] ut qui ab se dissentiret
3 adversus Romanos dicere videretur. Ac primum omnium, tamquam non hic nobiscum fuisset, sed aut ex curia populi Romani veniret aut[6] regum arcanis interesset, omnia scit et nuntiat quae occulte facta
4 sunt. Divinat etiam quae futura fuerint,[7] si Philippus vixisset, quid ita Perseus regni heres sit, quid

[1] interfluit fretum *Kreyssig*: interfvitfretvs V.
[2] immisceamur *Sigonius*: immiscemvr V.
[3] redigatur *J. F. Gronovius*: dirigantvr V.
[4] cogitare *add. Fr.*
[5] effecit *Fr.*: efficit V.
[6] aut *Fr.*: avtcvriam V.
[7] fuerint *J. F. Gronovius*: fverant V.

decree by which Macedonians are excluded from the B.C. 174
Peloponnesus, and again see the king's ambassadors, and hospitalities exchanged with their leaders, and presently Macedonian armies and even the king himself crossing from Delphi (for how great a strait flows between us?[1]) to the Peloponnesus, and shall be mingled with the Macedonians as they arm themselves against the Romans! I vote that we shall decree nothing new but preserve everything as it is, until it shall be reduced to certainty whether our fears are false or justified. If the peace between the Macedonians and the Romans remains inviolate, let us too share the friendship and the intercourse; to plan about it now seems dangerous and premature."

XXIV. After him Archo, brother of the general Xenarchus, spoke as follows: "Difficult indeed has Callicrates made the task of speaking for me and for all of us who disagree with him; for by pleading the cause of the Roman alliance he himself, by alleging that it is being endangered and attacked, although no one is either endangering or attacking it, has brought it to pass that whoever should disagree with him would seem to be speaking against the Romans. And first of all, just as if he had not been here with us, but were either coming from the senate-house of the Roman people or were a sharer in the secrets of kings, he knows everything and reports everything which has been done in concealment. He even foretells what would have happened if Philip had lived, why Perseus became heir to the throne in such a

[1] The Corinthian Gulf between Cape Rhion on the south and across to Cape Antirrhion on the north is only one and a half miles wide.

A.U.C. 580

parent Macedones, quid cogitent Romani. Nos autem, qui nec ob quam causam nec quem ad modum perierit Demetrius scimus, nec quid Philippus si vixisset facturus fuerit,[1] ad haec, quae palam geruntur, consilia nostra accommodare oportet. Ac scimus Persea regno accepto regem a populo Romano appellatum; audimus legatos Romanos venisse ad regem Persea[2] et eos benigne exceptos. Haec omnia pacis equidem signa esse iudico non belli; nec Romanos offendi posse si ut bellum gerentes eos secuti sumus, nunc quoque pacis auctores sequamur. Cur quidem nos inexpiabile omnium soli bellum adversus regnum Macedonum geramus, non video. Opportuni[3] propinquitate ipsa Macedoniae sumus? An infirmissimi omnium, tamquam, quos nuper subegit,[4] Dolopes? Immo contra ea vel viribus nostris, deum benignitate, vel regionis intervallo tuti. Sed simus[5] aeque subiecti ac Thessali Aetolique: nihilo plus fidei auctoritatisque habemus adversus Romanos, qui semper socii atque amici fuimus, quam Aetoli, qui paulo ante hostes fuerunt? Quod Aetolis, quod Thessalis, quod Epirotis, omni denique Graeciae cum Macedonibus iuris est, idem et nobis sit. Cur execrabilis ista nobis solis velut[6] dissertio iuris

[1] fuerit *Sigonius*: fverat V.
[2] regno accepto *etc. usque ad* ad regem Persea *Fr.*: ac regno accepto a populo Romano audimus legatos Romanos venisse ad regem Persea *Kreyssig*: acceptoalegatosromanosvenisseadregemperseaadpr (*sic*) appellatvm V.
[3] opportuni *Fr.*: opportvnitate V.
[4] subegit *Kreyssig*: svbiecit V.

way, what preparations the Macedonians are making, B.C. 174 what the Romans are considering. But we who know neither for what reason or in what manner Demetrius died nor what Philip would have done if he had lived, ought to adjust our decision to those events which are taking place in full view. And we do know that Perseus, having gained the throne, was saluted as king by the Roman people: we hear that Roman ambassadors came to King Perseus and that they were courteously received. All these things I, for my part, interpret as signs of peace, not war; nor can the Romans be offended if, as we followed them in waging war, we now follow them likewise as sponsors of peace. Why indeed we, alone of men, should wage unrelenting war against the Kingdom of the Macedonians, I do not see. Are we vulnerable because of our very proximity to Macedonia? Or are we, like the Dolopians whom he has just subdued, the weakest of all mortals? No, on the contrary, by the grace of the gods, either our own strength or the distance which separates us makes us secure. Grant that we are as much at the mercy of the king as the Thessalians, and the Aetolians; have we no more credit and standing in the eyes of the Romans, we who have always been their allies and friends, than the Aetolians, who but a short time ago were their enemies? Whatever rights exist between the Macedonians and the Aetolians, the Thessalians, the Epirotes, in a word, all Greece, let us also possess. Why should we alone experience that accursed loosen-

[5] simus *Walch*: svmvs V.
[6] idem et nobis sit. Cur execrabilis ista nobis solis velut *Fr.*: idemetnobissitcvmexecrabilisistanobissitcvrexecrabilisistanobissolis V.

A.U.C. 580

11 humani est? Fecerit aliquid Philippus cur adversus eum armatum et bellum gerentem hoc decerneremus; quid Perseus, novus rex, omnis iniuriae insons, suo beneficio paternas simultates obliterans, meruit, 12 cur soli omnium hostes ei simus?[1] Quamquam et illud dicere poteram, tanta priorum Macedoniae regum merita erga nos fuisse, ut Philippi unius iniurias, si quae forte fuerunt, utique post mortem 13 obliterent. Non venit in mentem,[2] cum classis Romana Cenchreis staret,[3] consul cum exercitu Elatiae esset, triduum nos in concilio fuisse consultantes 14 utrum Romanos an Philippum sequeremur? Nihil metus praesens ab Romanis sententias nostras inclinarit: fuit certe tamen aliquid, quod tam longam deliberationem faceret;[4] idque[5] erat vetusta coniunctio cum Macedonibus, vetera et magna in 15 nos regum merita. Valeant et nunc eadem illa, non ut praecipue amici, sed ne praecipue inimici simus. Ne id, quod non agitur, Callicrates, simulaverimus agi. Nemo novae societatis aut novi foederis, quo 16 nos temere illigemus, conscribendi est auctor; sed commercium tantum iuris praebendi repetendique sit, ne interdictione finium nostrorum nos quoque terminis regni[6] arceamus; ne servis nostris aliquo fugere liceat—quid hoc adversus Romana foedera

[1] simus *J. F. Gronovius:* svmvs V.
[2] obliterent non venit in mentem *add. Wesenberg.*
[3] Cenchreis staret *Sigonius*: cencristaberet (*sic*) V.
[4] faceret *ed. Vascosana*: fecerat V.
[5] idque *Hartel*: idqvod V.
[6] nostrorum nos quoque terminis regni *Vahlen*: nostrosqvvqveetnossegni V.

[1] Cf. XXXII. xix–xxiii.

ing, so to speak, of human ties? Assume that Philip B.C. 174 has done something for which we should pass this decree against him when he was armed and waging war; what has Perseus deserved, a new king, innocent of all wrong, who now wipes out by his kindness the memory of his father's quarrels, that we alone of all men should be his enemies? And yet I might have said even this, that so great were the benefits conferred upon us by former kings of Macedonia that they, especially now that he is dead, wipe out the memory of wrongs committed by Philip alone, if perchance there were such. Does it not come to mind that when the Roman fleet lay at Cenchreae and the consul with his army was at Elatia, we spent three days in the council deliberating whether we should follow the Romans or Philip?[1] Grant that no immediate fear of the Romans affected our judgment: there was certainly something, nevertheless, which caused so long consideration; and this was our long-standing association with the Macedonians and the ancient and great services rendered us by their kings. Let the ancient arguments prevail even now, not to make us conspicuously their friends, but to prevent our being conspicuously their enemies. Let us not pretend, Callicrates, that the question is being settled which is not being settled. No one counsels us to make a new alliance or conclude a new treaty by which we may without knowing it entangle ourselves in difficulties; only intercourse of proffering and receiving justice, and that we shall not exclude ourselves from the territory of the kingdom by barring our frontiers to them; that it may not be permitted our slaves to flee anywhere—how is that against the Roman treaties?

A.U.C 580

17 est? Quid rem parvam et apertam magnam et suspectam facimus? Quid vanos tumultus ciemus?
18 Quid, ut ipsi locum adsentandi Romanis habeamus, suspectos alios et invisos efficimus?[1] Si bellum erit,[2] ne Perseus quidem dubitat quin Romanos secuturi simus;[3] in pace, etiam si non odia[4] finiuntur, intermittantur."

19 Cum iidem huic orationi qui litteris regis assensi erant assentirentur, indignatione principum, quod, quam rem ne legatione quidem dignam iudicasset Perseus, litteris paucorum versuum impetraret,[5]
20 decretum differtur. Legati deinde postea missi ab rege, cum Megalopoli concilium esset, dataque opera est ab iis, qui offensionem apud Romanos timebant, ne admitterentur.

XXV. Per haec tempora Aetolorum in semet ipsos versus furor mutuis caedibus ad internecionem adduc-
2 turus videbatur gentem. Fessi deinde et Romam utraque pars miserunt legatos et inter se ipsi de reconcilianda concordia agebant; quae novo facinore
3 discussa res veteres etiam iras excitavit. Exulibus Hypataeis, qui factionis Proxeni[6] erant, cum reditus in patriam promissus esset fidesque data per principem
4 civitatis Eupolemum, octoginta illustres homines, quibus redeuntibus inter ceteram multitudinem Eupolemus etiam obvius exierat, cum salutatione

[1] et invisos efficimus *Heraeus*: invisosvfficimvs V.
[2] erit *Fr.*: erat V.
[3] simus *Fr.*: svmvs V.
[4] odia *Fr.*: odio V.
[5] impetraret *J. F. Gronovius*: imperaret V.
[6] Proxeni *Fr.*: proximi V.

Why do we turn a slight and open matter into one B.C. 174
that is important and suspicious? Why do we stir up groundless alarms? Why, in order that we may have an opportunity to flatter the Romans, do we bring others under suspicion and distrust? If there is to be war not even Perseus doubts that we will follow the Romans; in peace, even if hatreds are not ended, let them be suspended."

When the same persons who had applauded the king's letter applauded this speech, on account of the indignation of the chiefs, that what Perseus did not deem deserving even of an embassy he should secure by means of a letter a few lines long, the decree was deferred. Later on ambassadors were sent by the king, at the time when the council was meeting at Megalopolis, and precautions were taken by the party which feared that the Romans would take offence, that they should not be received.

XXV. At this time the rage of the Aetolians, being turned upon themselves, seemed likely, as they murdered one another, to bring the whole people to extermination. Then, as they grew wearied, each faction sent ambassadors to Rome, and of their own accord negotiated with one another regarding the restoration of harmony; this effort, broken up by a new crime, reawakened the old passions. When exiles from Hypata, who belonged to the party of Proxenus, had been promised restoration to their city and a public safeguard had been promised them by Eupolemus,[1] the chief of the city, eighty distinguished men, whom Eupolemus with the rest of the population had even gone out to meet on

[1] Eupolemus was *strategus* in 176–175 B.C., and the trouble may have occurred then, not in 174 B.C., when Livy reports it.

A.U.C. 580

benigna excepti essent dextraeque datae, ingredientes portam, fidem datam deosque testis nequiquam invocantes [1] interfecti sunt. Inde gravius de integro
5 bellum exarsit. C. Valerius Laevinus et Ap. Claudius Pulcher et C. Memmius et M. Popilius et L. Canuleius
6 missi ab senatu venerant. Apud eos cum Delphis utriusque partis legati magno certamine agerent,[2] Proxenus maxime cum causa tum eloquentia praestare visus est; qui paucos post dies ab Orthobula uxore veneno est sublatus; damnataque eo crimine
7 in exilium abiit. Idem furor et Cretenses lacerabat. Adventu deinde Q. Minuci legati, qui cum decem navibus missus ad sedanda eorum certamina erat, ad [3] spem pacis venerant. Ceterum indutiae tantum sex mensum fuerunt; inde multo gravius bellum
8 exarsit. Lycii quoque per idem tempus ab Rhodiis bello vexabantur. Sed externorum inter se bella, quo quaeque modo gesta sint,[4] persequi non operae est satis superque oneris sustinenti res a populo Romano gestas perscribere.[5]

XXVI. Celtiberi in Hispania, qui bello domiti se Ti. Graccho dediderant, pacati manserant M.

[1] invocantes *Fr.*: vocantes V.
[2] agerent *Curio*: egervnt V.
[3] ad *add. Hertz.*
[4] sint *Wesenberg*: svnt V.
[5] perscribere *Harant*: resscribere V.

[1] The relation of the embassy mentioned in xxii. 3 above to this is unknown.

[2] Livy's vagueness in relating these events probably indicates a lack of actual knowledge of them. He seems to see no connection even between the last war mentioned and the Lycian embassy which he reported at vi. 8–12 above.

their return, although they were received with courteous addresses and hand-clasps, as they entered the gate appealing in vain to the assurances of safety given and to the gods, were slain. In consequence of this a more serious war flared up afresh. Gaius Valerius Laevinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Gaius Memmius, Marcus Popilius, and Lucius Canuleius, sent by the senate, had arrived.[1] When representatives of both factions spoke before them at Delphi with great contentiousness, Proxenus seemed to outstrip the rest, both in the merit of his cause and in eloquence; a few days later he was poisoned by his wife Orthobula; and she being condemned on that charge, went into exile. The same madness rent the Cretans too. The arrival of Quintus Minucius the commissioner, who had been sent with ten ships to quell their contentions, then brought them to the hope of peace. But the truce was for six months only; then a much more serious war flared up. The Lycians also at this time were being harassed in war by the Rhodians. But the wars which foreign nations waged among themselves and the manner in which they were conducted, it is not worth while to relate in detail, since I carry enough and too much of a burden in describing in full the achievements of the Roman people.[2] B.C. 174

XXVI. The Celtiberians in Spain, who had surrendered to Tiberius Gracchus [3] after their defeat in the war, had remained quiet while Marcus Titinius [4]

[3] Gracchus went to Spain in 179 B.C. (XL. xlvii. 1); his return and triumph in 177 B.C. were reported at vi. 4 and vii. 2 above.

[4] Titinius was one of the unnamed praetors for 178 B.C. (XL. ix. 5).

A.U.C. 580

Titinio praetore obtinente[1] provinciam. Rebellarunt sub adventum Ap. Claudi orsique bellum sunt ab repentina oppugnatione castrorum Romanorum. 2 Prima lux ferme erat, cum vigiles in vallo quique in portarum stationibus erant, cum vidissent procul 3 venientem hostem, ad arma conclamaverunt. Ap. Claudius, signo proposito pugnae ac paucis adhortatus milites, tribus simul portis eduxit. Obsistentibus ad exitum Celtiberis primo par utrimque proelium fuit, quia propter angustias non omnes in faucibus 4 pugnare poterant Romani; urguentes deinde alii alios secuti ubi[2] evaserunt extra vallum, ut pandere aciem et exaequari cornibus hostium[3] quibus circumibantur possent ita repente inruperunt ut sustinere 5 impetum eorum Celtiberi nequirent. Ante horam secundam pulsi sunt; ad quindecim milia caesa aut[4] capta, signa adempta duo et triginta. Castra etiam eo die expugnata debellatumque; nam qui superfuere proelio, in oppida sua dilapsi sunt. Quieti deinde paruerunt imperio.

XXVII. Censores eo anno creati Q. Fulvius Flaccus et A. Postumius Albinus legerunt senatum; princeps lectus M. Aemilius Lepidus pontifex maximus. 2 De senatu novem eiecerunt; insignes notae fuerunt M. Corneli Maluginensis, qui biennio[5] ante praetor

[1] obtinente *Fr.*: oppvgnante V.
[2] ubi *add. Weissenborn.*
[3] hostium *J. F. Gronovius*: hostibvs V.
[4] caesa aut *add. Fr.*
[5] biennio *Fr.*: sibiennio V.

held the province as praetor. They rebelled on the B.C. 174 arrival of Appius Claudius[1] and began the war by a surprise attack on the Roman camp. It was about daybreak, when the sentinels were on the rampart and the outposts were on guard at the gates, that they saw the enemy coming afar off and called the troops to arms. Appius Claudius, after displaying the signal for battle and briefly exhorting the troops, led them out by three gates at once. The Celtiberians met them as they came out, and at first there was a drawn battle, since on account of the narrow space not all the Romans could fight in the entrance; then, as they pressed forward one on another, when they had forced their way out beyond the rampart in order that they might extend their line and form it to meet the flanks of the enemy by which they were being surrounded, they burst out so suddenly that the Celtiberians were unable to withstand the charge. Before the second hour they were repulsed; about fifteen thousand were killed or captured, and thirty-two standards were taken. The camp was also captured that day and the war was over: for those who survived the battle scattered to their towns. Thereafter they quietly submitted to authority.

XXVII. The censors who were elected that year, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius Albinus, chose the members of the senate; as *princeps senatus* Marcus Aemilius Lepidus the chief pontiff was chosen. They expelled nine from the senate. The conspicuous victims of the censure were Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, who

[1] The election of Claudius as praetor in 175 B.C. was presumably recorded in the lost text of chap. xviii.

A.U.C. 580

in Hispania fuerat, et L. Corneli Scipionis praetoris, cuius tum inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictio erat, et L. Fulvi, qui frater germanus et, ut Valerius Antias tradit, consors etiam censoris [1] erat. Consules votis in [2] Capitolio nuncupatis in provincias profecti sunt. Ex iis M. Aemilio senatus negotium dedit ut Patavinorum in Venetia seditionem comprimeret, quos certamine factionum ad intestinum bellum exarsisse et ipsorum legati attulerant. Legati, qui in Aetoliam ad similes motus comprimendos ierant, renuntiarunt coerceri rabiem gentis non posse. Patavinis saluti fuit adventus consulis; neque aliud quod ageret [3] in provincia cum habuisset, Romam redit. Censores vias sternendas silice in urbe, glarea extra urbem substruendas marginandasque primi omnium lo-

[1] censoris *Fr.*: consortis V.
[2] votis in *Crévier*: votisetiametiamin V.
[3] ageret *Fr.*: agere V.

[1] In xv. 10 above Cornelius is represented as having evaded going to Spain, and Livy or a scribe, forgetting the fact, assumed that he had actually gone. Possibly his expulsion from the senate was due to suspicion or certainty that he had perjured himself; possibly it was due to an anti-Scipionic crusade: see also the next note.

[2] In viii. 1 Livy reported the election of Cn. Cornelius Scipio as praetor for 177 B.C. Valerius Maximus (IV. v. 3) has an anecdote of the election of Cn. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Africanus, and speaks of him as holding a judicial assignment, whereas the praetor of 177 B.C. was in Gaul. It is therefore impossible to be certain which, if either, was the son of Africanus. The basis for the expulsion of this Scipio is unknown. His election was mentioned in the lost portion of chap. xx.

two years before had been praetor in Spain,[1] and B.C. 174
Lucius Cornelius Scipio the praetor, who at the time exercised jurisdiction over cases between citizens and aliens,[2] and Lucius Fulvius who was own brother to the censor and, as Valerius Antias writes, held their father's property jointly with the censor.[3] The consuls, after publicly proclaiming their vows on the Capitoline, departed to their provinces. To one of them, Marcus Aemilius,[4] the senate had entrusted the task of suppressing a revolt of the people of Patavium in Venetia, since even their own ambassadors had reported that civil war had flared up in consequence of the rivalry of factions. The ambassasors who had gone to Aetolia to repress similar disturbances reported that the madness of the people could not be checked. The consul's arrival was the cause of safety to the people of Patavium; since he had nothing else to do in the province, he returned to Rome. The censors first of all let contracts for paving the streets in the City with flint,[5] and for laying the bases of roads outside the City with gravel and constructing footpaths along

[3] The censor of this year was consul in 179 B.C. (a cousin of the same name was consul in 180 B.C.). Each of them seems to have had a brother Marcus, the brother of the consul of 180 B.C. perhaps having the *cognomen* Nobilior (XL. xli. 7–10 and the note). Possibly, however, Nobilior, who was banished in 180 B.C., is the man who is here referred to with the *praenomen* Lucius; he may have been expelled from the senate in 175 B.C. (XL. li. 1). Velleius (I. x. 6) calls him Fulvius Gnaeus, while Valerius Maximus (II. vii. 5) mentions him without the *praenomen*.

[4] Aemilius was consul in 175 B.C. not in 174 B.C., and Livy is in error as to the name or as to the date.

[5] The first paving outside of Rome was recorded XXXVIII. xxviii. 3; this is the first within the city.

A.U.C. 580

caverunt, pontesque multis locis faciendos; et
6 scaenam [1] aedilibus praetoribusque praebendam; et carceres in circo, et ova ad notas [2] curriculis numerandis . . . dam, et metas trans . . . et caveas ferreas, per quas intromitterentur . . . feriis [3] in
7 monte Albano consulibus, et clivum Capitolinum silice sternendum curaverunt, et porticum ab aede Saturni in Capitolium ad senaculum, ac super id
8 curiam. Et extra portam Trigeminam emporium lapide straverunt stipitibusque saepserunt, et porticum Aemiliam reficiendam curarunt, gradibusque
9 ascensum ab Tiberi in emporium fecerunt. Et intra [4] eandem portam in Aventinum porticum silice straverunt, et . . . [5] ab aede Veneris fecerunt.

[1] et scaenam *Fr.*: etaescenam V.
[2] *hic alibique lacunae agnoscuntur, margine cod. abscissa.*
[3] feriis *Sigonius*: ferreis V.
[4] intra *Perizonius*: extra V.
[5] *in* V *legimus* eo publico, *sed locus corruptus nondum sanatus est; de cliuo Publicio cogitauit Perizonius; rem integram reliqui.*

[1] Their location is unknown; no bridges within Rome are traceable to this censorship.
[2] These magistrates presided over games at which dramatic performances were given.
[3] The text of this passage has suffered in various places, and no satisfactory restorations have been proposed for most of the lacunae. I have added nothing to complete the sense except "the wild beasts." The *carceres* were built at the end of the race-track, so placed as to give each contestant an equal opportunity to gain the inside track. The *ova* were arranged on the spina, and one was taken down as each lap in the race was run. The *metae* marked the points around which the chariots were to go. The single syllable *dam* is entirely unintelligible.
[4] The loss of the context leaves *consulibus* without a sense, and makes the entire clause doubtful in meaning.

their edges, and for the construction of bridges in B.C. 174
many places;[1] also a stage to be placed at the disposal of the aediles and praetors;[2] stalls too in the Circus, and egg-shaped markers to designate the laps . . . and turning-points across . . . and iron cages through which the wild beasts might be let in . . .[3] the festival on the Alban Mount . . .,[4] and they arranged for the pavement with flint of the Clivus Capitolinus[5] and for the construction of a portico from the temple of Saturn to the assembly-room of the senators on the Capitoline,[6] and, above it, to the Curia. And outside the Porta Trigemina they paved the warehouse with stone and enclosed it with paling, and they contracted for repairs to the portico of Aemilius,[7] and built a stairway from the Tiber to the warehouse.[8] And within the same gate they paved with flint the portico leading to the Aventine, and they built . . . from the temple of Venus.[9] The same censors contracted for the con-

[5] This was the steep ascent from the Forum to the Capitoline.
[6] The meaning is uncertain, but would seem to require two porticoes, one following the line of the Clivus Capitolinus, one branching off from it and running northward along the face or at the foot of the Capitoline, and reaching the area occupied by the temple of Concord or the Comitium. Possibly there were a *senaculum* and a *curia*.
[7] Cf. XXXV. x. 12; on the Capitoline (for the *comitia curiata*).
[8] This area lay at the south-west corner of the Aventine, along the Tiber.
[9] If the phrase found in V. *eo publico* (see the critical note) is derived from the corruption of *clivo Publicio*, the temple of Vesta might be the one referred to in XXIX. xxxvii. 2 as in the *forum boarium*, whence the *clivus Publicius* led to the Aventine.

A.U.C. 580

10 Idem Calatiae et Auximi muros faciendos locaverunt; venditisque ibi publicis locis pecuniam, quae redacta [1] erat, tabernis utrique foro circumdandis consump-
11 serunt. Et alter ex iis Fulvius Flaccus—nam Postumius nihil nisi senatus Romani populive iussu se locaturum edixit [2]—ipsorum pecunia Iovis aedem Pisauri et Fundis et Potentiae etiam aquam adducen-
12 dam, et Pisauri viam silice sternendam, et Sinuessae magalia addenda [3] . . . aviariae in his et cloacas et murum circumducendum . . . et forum porticibus [4] tabernisque claudendum et Ianos tres faciendos.
13 Haec ab uno censore opera locata cum magna gratia colonorum. Moribus quoque regendis diligens et severa censura fuit. Multis equi adempti.

XXVIII. Exitu prope anni diem unum supplicatio fuit ob res prospere gestas in Hispania ductu auspicioque Ap. [5] Claudi proconsulis; et maioribus
2 hostiis viginti sacrificatum. Et alterum diem supplicatio ad Cereris, Liberi Liberaeque fuit, quod ex Sabinis terrae motus ingens cum multis aedificiorum

[1] redacta *Fr.*: redvcta V.
[2] edixit *add. Madvig.*
[3] magalia addenda *Roth*: maca V *Vid. quae dixi de notis* § 6 *supra.*
[4] porticibus *Fr.*: etporticvs V.
[5] Ap. *Fr.*: apvt V.

[1] According to Weissenborn the words *Iovis aedem* should be construed with both *Fundis* and *Potentiae*: cf. XL. xli. 6.

[2] Or possibly "huts," "hutments." *magalia* and *mapalia* were Punic words, or the same Punic word, for huts or small dwellings. *magalia* was also used for the suburbs of Carthage. There may be a connection between *magalia* here and the word *aviariae* (which is not here translated); for Cato speaks of

struction of walls at Calatia and Auximum; and after B.C. 174 selling the public land there, the money which had been collected they devoted to building shops around the forum in each town. Also one of them, Fulvius Flaccus—for Postumius had announced that he would let no contract without the order of the Roman senate or assembly—with the money allotted to them contracted for a temple of Jupiter at Pisaurum and at Fundi,[1] and for conducting water to Potentia also, and for paving with flint a street at Pisaurum and at Sinuessa for the construction of suburbs [2] . . . in them, for both sewers and a surrounding wall . . . and a forum, to be enclosed by porticoes and shops, and for the erection of three statues of Janus. These contracts were let by the one censor to the great satisfaction of the colonists.[3] In the supervision of morals the censorship was careful and strict. The horses of many were taken away.[4]

XXVIII. At about the end of the year there was a day of thanksgiving on account of the successes in Spain under the leadership and auspices of Appius Claudius the proconsul, and twenty full-grown victims were sacrificed. There was also a second day of prayer at the temples of Ceres, Liber and Libera, because from Sabine territory there came the news of a severe earthquake causing many buildings to

"magalia" as *cohortes rotundae*, and a *cohors* is a cattle-pen or a poultry-pen. Cf. Cato in Servius on Virgil *Aen.* i. 421 (E. H. Warmington).

[3] The colonies were Pisaurum, Potentia, and Sinuessa, and possibly the three statues were erected there.

[4] Cf. XXXIX. xliv. 1 etc. The censorship was particularly active in the construction of new buildings, despite the apparent conservatism of Postumius; see Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. I. ch. iii. p. 185.

A.U.C. 580

3 ruinis nuntiatus erat. Cum Ap. Claudius ex Hispania Romam redisset, decrevit senatus ut ovans urbem
4 iniret. Iam consularia comitia appetebant; quibus magna contentione habitis propter multitudinem petentium creati L. Postumius Albinus et M. Popilius
5 Laenas. Praetores inde facti N. Fabius Buteo C. Matienus C. Cicereius M. Furius Crassipes iterum A. Atilius Serranus iterum C. Cluvius Saxula iterum.
6 Comitiis perfectis Ap. Claudius Cento ex Celtiberis ovans cum in urbem iniret, decem milia pondo
7 argenti, quinque milia auri in aerarium tulit. Flamen Dialis inauguratus est Cn. Cornelius.
8 Eodem anno tabula in aede Matris Matutae cum indice hoc posita est.: " Ti. Semproni Gracchi consulis imperio auspicioque legio exercitusque populi Romani Sardiniam subegit. In ea provincia hostium
9 caesa aut capta supra octoginta milia. Re publica felicissime gesta atque liberatis sociis,[1] vectigalibus restitutis exercitum salvum atque incolumem plenissimum praeda domum reportavit; iterum triumphans in urbem Romam redit. Cuius rei ergo
10 hanc tabulam donum Iovi dedit." Sardiniae insulae forma erat, atque [2] in ea simulacra pugnarum picta.
11 Munera gladiatorum eo anno aliquot, parva alia,

[1] sociis *add. Sigonius.*
[2] atque *Fr.*: avtqve V.

[1] Furius was praetor in 187 B.C. (XXXVIII. xlii. 4), Atilius in 192 B.C. (XXXV. x. 11), Cluvius perhaps in 175 B.C., his election having been reported in the lost section of chap. xviii above: at least there is no vacancy in earlier years. In that case the normal interval between terms of the same office was not observed (VII. xlii. 7).

collapse. When Appius Claudius had returned from B.C. 174
Spain to Rome, the senate decreed that he should enter the city in ovation. The consular election was now at hand; when this was held with great contention because of the large number of candidates, Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Laenas were chosen. Next the praetors were elected, Numerius Fabius Buteo, Gaius Matienus, Gaius Cicereius, Marcus Furius Crassipes, Aulus Atilius Serranus, Gaius Cluvius Saxula (the last three each for the second time).[1] When the elections were over and Appius Claudius Cento entered the City in ovation over the Celtiberians, he deposited in the treasury ten thousand pounds of silver and five thousand of gold. Gnaeus Cornelius was inaugurated as *flamen Dialis.*

In the same year a tablet was set up in the temple of Mater Matuta with this inscription: " Under the command and auspices of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus the legion and army of the Roman people conquered Sardinia. In this province more than eighty thousand of the enemy were slain or captured.[2] The state having been most successfully administered and the allies set free, the revenues restored, he brought back home the army safe and secure and enriched with booty; for the second time he entered the city of Rome in triumph. In commemoration of this event he set up this tablet to Jupiter." It had the form of the island of Sardinia, and on it representations of battles were painted.

Many gladiatorial games were given that year, some of them unimportant; one was noteworthy

[2] Slaves were the only booty, according to Festus (p. 322), and they became proverbial for their cheapness.

A.U.C. 580

data; unum ante cetera insigne fuit T. Flaminini, quod mortis causa patris sui cum visceratione epuloque et ludis scaenicis quadriduum dedit. Magni tum[1] muneris ea summa fuit quod per triduum quattuor et septuaginta homines pugnarint.

[1] tum *Walch*: tamen V, *fortasse rectius.*

[1] Nothing is known of the career of the liberator of Greece after his embassy to Prusias in 183 B.C. (XXXIX. li. 1 ff.), and his death may have occurred at this time.

beyond the rest, that of Titus Flaminiuus, which B.C. 174
he gave to commemorate the death of his father,[1] lasted four days, and was accompanied by a public distribution of meats, a banquet and scenic performances. The climax of a show which was big for that time was that in three days seventy-four gladiators fought.[2]

[2] While the number of gladiators was large for the time, it was so small in comparison with later games as to deserve mention.

There is no trace of loss at the end of Book XL, and the account of the Voconian law, mentioned in the *Periocha*, must have been found in some lost section, if the *Periocha* is correct.

PERIOCHA LIBRI XLI

IGNIS in aede Vestae extinctus est. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus pro cos. Celtiberos victos in deditionem accepit, monumentumque operum suorum Gracchurim oppidum in Hispania constituit; et a Postumio Albino pro cos. Vaccaei ac Lusitani subacti sunt. Uterque triumphavit. Antiochus, Antiochi filius, obses a patre Romanis datus mortuo fratre Seleuco, qui patri defuncto successerat, in regnum Syriae ab urbe dimissus. Qui praeter religionem, qua multa templa magnifica multis locis erexit,[1] Athenis Iovis Olympii et Antiochiae Capitolini,[2] vilissimum regem

[1] qui praeter . . . regem egit *hic e fine periochae transposuit Gronovius, qui* qua *posuit*: quam *codd*; locis erexit *Gronovianus et ed. princeps*: sociis *cum lacuna codd. alii, recepit*, fecit *addens, Rossbach, quem alibi secutus sum.*

[2] Capitolini *add. Sigonius*: *om. codd.*

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[1] The asterisk indicates that the events described in the following sentence were related in a lost portion of the book.

[2] Another instance of this ominous occurrence is related in XXVIII. xi. 6, and Valerius Maximus I. 1. 6 (206 B.C.); a general discussion of the going out and rekindling of the fire is given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, II. 66. 3.

[3] Gracchus and Albinus were, strictly speaking, praetors, but Livy uses the term "proconsul" freely for the praetors who governed Spain, cf. XLII. iii. 1 with XLII. x. 5.

[4] The town had existed previously under the name of Ilurcis (Festus Pauli ed. K. O. Müller, p. 97, s.v. Gracchuris). Later it had Latin rights (Pliny, *Natural History* III. 24)

SUMMARY OF BOOK XLI

[1] *THE fire in the temple of Vesta went out.[2] *The proconsul[3] Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus conquered and received the surrender of the Celtiberians, and as a monument to his labours established a town, Gracchuris,[4] in Spain; also the Vaccaei and Lusitanians were subdued by the proconsul Postumius Albinus. Both celebrated triumphs. *Antiochus, son of Antiochus, who had been given to the Romans as a hostage by his father, on the death of his brother Seleucus, who had succeeded as king on their father's decease, was sent back from the City to the throne of Syria.[5] Apart from his piety, because of which he built many grand temples in many places—at Athens, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and at Antioch, that of Jupiter Capitolinus—he played a very tawdry rôle

and coined its own money. Its citizens are mentioned in the Fragment of Bk. XCI, and it also appears in the late geographical works.

[5] This was Antiochus IV Epiphanes, son of Antiochus III the Great (*d.* 187 B.C.). According to Appian, *Syrian Wars* ch. viii. 45, he was released from Rome by his brother Seleucus IV, who sent his son Demetrius to replace Antiochus. The ex-hostage spent some time in Athens on his way home, receiving honours and making himself agreeable, particularly in the matter of the temple of Zeus Olympius, begun under Peisistratus and only finished, in spite of the munificence of Antiochus, by Hadrian. At this time Antiochus probably gave the golden aegis with the Gorgon which Pausanias (V. xii. 4) saw above the theatre. Antiochus established himself on the throne in 175 B.C. by driving out a usurper, Heliodorus, who had murdered Seleucus; the kingdom of Pergamum assisted Antiochus at this time.

egit. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est: censa sunt civium capita CCLVIII[1] CCXCIIII. Q. Voconius[2] Saxa tribunus plebis legem tulit, ne quis mulierem heredem institueret. Suasit legem M. Cato. Exstat oratio eius. Praeterea res adversus Liguras et Histros et Sardos et Celtiberos a compluribus ducibus prospere gestas et initia belli Macedonici continet, quod Perseus Philippi filius moliebatur. Miserat ad Carthaginienses legationem, et ab his nocte audita erat. Sed et alias Graeciae civitates sollicitabat.

[1] *At ed. princeps* CCLXIII CCXCIIII *praebet.*
[2] Voconius *Sigonius*: Volonius *N.*

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[1] Polybius (XXVI. 1a and 1) seems to have been the source for Livy's description of Antiochus (cf. ch. xx. of this book); Polybius XXVI. 1. 10–11 is closely parallel to this statement of the Periocha.

[2] The figure is variously given in the MSS.; in view of the statement in XLII. x. that the next census figures were "somewhat less" because of the elimination of Latin pretenders to Roman citizenship, I should prefer the larger figure as given in the critical note. Other activities of these censors are described in XL. li–lii.

[3] The first provision of this law seems to have run: "ne quis heredem virginem neve mulierem faceret" (Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* III. 21) and it applied to those listed in the census as having 100,000 *asses* or more (Cicero, *Second Verrine Oration* I, chs. 41–45), although Dio Cassius LVI. 10 gives the sum as 25,000 drachmas = 100,000 sesterces, or twice Cicero's sum, which may have been changed by judicial interpretation in the course of time. The Vestal Virgins were exempt, and might devise as they chose (Cicero, *De Republica*, III. 10).

as king.[1] *The five-year period was brought to an end by the censors; there were enumerated as citizens 258,294 persons.[2] *Quintus Voconius Saxa, tribune of the people, carried a law that no one should make a woman his heir.[3] *Marcus Cato advocated the law. *His speech survives.[4] Moreover, the book covers successful campaigns by several leaders against the Ligurians, Histrians, Sardinians, and Celtiberians, as well as the beginnings of the Macedonian War, which Perseus, the son of Philip, was pushing forward. He had sent an embassy to the Carthaginians, and it had been heard by them at night. Then too, he kept making overtures to the other states of Greece.

However, legacies might be made to women, and their share, if there was no will, was not limited (Cicero, *loc. cit.*). The law continued: ne cui plus legatorum nomine mortisve causa capere liceret quam heredes caperent, si plus legarit quam ad heredem heredesve perveniat (Gaius II. 226), *i.e.*, probably no single legatee might receive more than the residual estate falling to the heir or heirs. This second part of the Voconian Law became obsolete with the subsequent growth of huge fortunes, and was superseded by the Falcidian Law of 40 B.C.; the prohibition of heirship by women seems to have become a dead letter after about A.D. 100 (latest reference in Pliny, *Panegyric* 42).

[4] A fragment of Cato's speech is preserved in Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* XVII. 6: "In the beginning the woman brought you a great dowry; then she holds back a large sum of money, which she does not entrust to the control of her husband, but lends it to her husband. Later, becoming angry with him, she orders a slave whom she has reserved as her own to hound him and demand the money," tr. Rolfe, L.C.L.; the rendering of *servum recepticium* (the phrase for the sake of explaining which Gellius quoted the fragment, has been altered).

BOOK XLII

LIBER XLII

A.U.C. 581

I. L. Postumius Albinus M. Popilius Laenas consules [1] cum omnium primum de provinciis et [2] exercitibus ad senatum rettulissent, Ligures utrique decreti sunt, ut novas ambo quibus eam provinciam obtinerent legiones—binae singulis decretae—et socium Latini nominis dena milia peditum et sescenos [3] equites, et supplementum Hispaniae tria milia peditum Romanorum scriberent et ducentos equites. Ad hoc mille et quingenti pedites Romani cum centum equitibus [4] scribi iussi, cum quibus praetor cui Sardinia obtigisset in Corsicam transgressus bellum gereret; interim M. Atilius, vetus praetor, provinciam obtineret Sardiniam. Praetores deinde provincias sortiti sunt, A. Atilius Serranus urbanam, C. Cluvius Saxula inter cives et peregrinos, N.[5] Fabius Buteo Hispaniam citeriorem, M. Matienus ulteriorem, M. Furius Crassipes Siciliam, C. Cicereius Sardiniam. Priusquam in provincias [6] magistratus proficiscerentur, senatui placuit, L. Postumium consulem ad agrum publicum a privato terminandum

[1] consules *add. Luchs* : *om.* V.
[2] et *add. Vahlen* : exsercitibus V.
[3] sescenos *Drakenborch* : sescentos V.
[4] equitibus *Fr.* : equitibus $\overline{CC}$ V.
[5] N. *Sigonius* : cn. V.
[6] provincias *add. Kreyssig* : *om.* V.

BOOK XLII

I. When the consuls Lucius Postumius Albinus and B.C. 173 Marcus Popilius Laenas had first of all referred to the senate the question of the provinces and the armies, the Ligurians were decreed to them both, with the provision that they should each enlist legions with which to hold this province—two were decreed to each—and for each also ten thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy, and as a reinforcement for Spain three thousand Roman infantry and two hundred cavalry. It was also ordered that fifteen hundred Roman infantry and one hundred cavalry be enrolled, taking whom the praetor to whose lot Sardinia should have fallen was to cross to Corsica to prosecute the war there; in the meantime Marcus Atilius, the old praetor, was to hold the province of Sardinia. The praetors then cast lots for the provinces. The civil jurisdiction was received by Aulus Atilius Serranus, that between citizens and aliens by Gaius Cluvius Saxula, Farther Spain by Numerius Fabius Buteo, Nearer Spain by Marcus Matienus, Sicily by Marcus Furius Crassipes, Sardinia by Gaius Cicereius. The senate decreed that before the magistrates departed for their provinces, Lucius Postumius the consul should proceed to Campania to determine the boundaries between the public and private lands,

A.U.C. 581

in Campaniam ire, cuius ingentem modum possidere
7 privatos paulatim proferendo fines constabat. Hic iratus Praenestinis, quod, cum eo privatus [1] sacrificii [2] in templo Fortunae faciendi causa profectus esset, nihil in se honorifice neque publice neque privatim factum a Praenestinis esset, priusquam ab Roma proficisceretur, litteras Praeneste misit ut sibi magistratus obviam exiret, locum publice pararent [3] ubi deverteretur, iumentaque cum exiret inde praesto
8 essent.[4] Ante hunc consulem nemo umquam sociis
9 in ulla re oneri aut sumptui fuit. Ideo magistratus mulis tabernaculisque et omni alio instrumento militari ornabantur, ne quid tale imperarent sociis.
10 Privata hospitia habebant; ea benigne comiterque colebant, domusque eorum Romae hospitibus pate-
11 bant, apud quos ipsis deverti mos esset. Legati qui repente aliquo [5] mitterentur singula iumenta per oppida, iter qua faciendum erat, imperabant; aliam impensam socii in magistratus Romanos non faciebant.
12 Ira [6] consulis etiamsi iusta, non tamen in magistratu

[1] privatus *Fr.*: priuatas V.
[2] *inter* privatus(-as) *et* sacrificii, *iterum* paulatim—priuatus (*sic*) *scripsit* V, *quae del.* Fr.
[3] pararent *Hertz*: pararet V.
[4] essent *Fr.*: esset V.
[5] aliquo *Fr.*: aliquod V.
[6] ira *Schel*: iniuria V.

[1] Part of the *ager Campanus* had been sold (cf. XXXII. vii. 3), part leased (XXVII. xi. 8), but there is no record of renewals of any leases. By reason of this negligence both purchasers and lessors had gradually included larger areas in their holdings, and the long unchallenged *possessio* gave even lessors an opportunity to claim ownership. What occasioned this sudden interest in the matter in unknown. For the results see chap. xix. below.

since it was well known that private persons, by B.C. 173
gradually moving their boundaries outward, were occupying a very large part of it.[1] Postumius being angry at the people of Praeneste because, when he had journeyed thither as a private citizen for the purpose of offering sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, no mark of respect [2] had been shown by that people, either officially or unofficially, before he set out from Rome sent a message to Praeneste to the effect that the magistrate should come out to meet him, that they should engage at public expense quarters for his entertainment, and that when he should leave there transport-animals should be in readiness. Before his consulship no one had ever put the allies to any trouble or expense in any respect.[3] Magistrates were supplied with mules and tents and all other military equipment, precisely in order that they might not give any such command to the allies. The senators generally had private relations of hospitality,[4] which they generously and courteously cultivated, and their homes at Rome were open to the guests at whose houses they themselves were wont to lodge. Ambassadors who were sent on short notice to any place would call upon the towns through which their route took them, for one pack-animal each: no other expense did the allies incur in behalf of Roman officials. The anger of the consul, even if it was justifiable, should nevertheless not have found vent

[2] As a *privatus*, Postumius had no right to demand or expect any sign of honour from an allied city. The incident may be regarded as an indication of the growing feeling of superiority of Rome with respect to her allies. Cf. sect. 12 below.
[3] But Livy has previously mentioned such expenditures as customary for allies outside of Italy, XXXII. xxvii. 4.
[4] Cf. XXXVII. liv. 6 and the note.

A.U.C. 581

exercenda, et silentium nimis [1] aut modestum aut timidum [2] Praenestinorum ius, velut [3] probato exemplo, magistratibus fecit graviorum in dies talis generis imperiorum.

II. Principio huius anni legati qui in Aetoliam et Macedoniam missi erant renuntiarunt, sibi conveniendi regis Persei, cum alii abesse eum [4] alii aegrum esse, falso utrumque, fingerent, potestatem non 2 factam. Facile tamen apparuisse sibi, bellum [5] parari, nec ultra ad arma ire dilaturum. Item in Aetolia seditionem gliscere [6] in dies, neque discordiarum principes auctoritate sua coerceri potuisse. 3 Cum bellum Macedonicum in expectatione esset, priusquam id susciperetur, prodigia expiari pacemque deum peti precationibus, qui [7] editi ex fatalibus libris 4 essent, placuit. Lanuvi classis magnae species in caelo visa dicebatur,[8] et Priverni lana pulla terra enata, et in [9] Veienti apud Rementem lapidatum; 5 Pomptinum omne velut nubibus lucustarum coopertum esse; in Gallico agro, qua induceretur aratrum, sub existentibus glaebis pisces emersisse. Ob haec 6 prodigia libri fatales inspecti, editumque ab decemviris est et quibus[10] diis quibusque hostiis sacrificaretur,

[1] nimis *Fr.*: minis V.
[2] timidum *Fr.*: tumidum V.
[3] ius velut *Fr.*: iussu velut V.
[4] eum *Fr.*: cum V.
[5] bellum *Fr.*: non bellum V.
[6] gliscere *Fr.*: discere (*sic*) V.
[7] qui *J. F. Gronovius*: que V.
[8] visa dicebatur *J. F. Gronovius*: uisae dicebantur V.
[9] terra enata et in *Fr.*: terrenaefin V.
[10] quibus *Fr.*: ex quibus V.

while he was in office, and its silent acceptance by the B.C. 173 Praenestines, whether too modest or too fearful, established, as by an approved precedent, the right of magistrates to make demands of this sort, which grew more burdensome day by day.

II. In the beginning of this year the ambassadors who had been sent [1] to Aetolia and Macedonia reported that an opportunity to interview King Perseus, since some pretended that he was away, some that he was ill (but both falsely), had not been given them. Nevertheless, they said, it had become easily apparent to them that preparations for war were being made and that Perseus would not further put off his resort to arms. The ambassadors also reported that the strife in Aetolia was growing daily, and that the leaders in the disputes could not be restrained by their authority. Since a Macedonian war was in prospect, before it should be undertaken it was decreed that atonement should be made by reason of the prodigies and the peace of the gods should be sought by the rituals which had been published from the oracular books. At Lanuvium the vision of a great fleet was said to have been seen in the sky, and at Privernum that dark-coloured wool had grown from the earth, and in the Veientine country about Remens that there had been a shower of stones: it was reported that the whole Pomptine region had been covered by clouds, one might say, of locusts; and that in the Gallic land, wherever the plough was driven, fish came forth from the upturned sod. By reason of these prodigies the oracular books were consulted, and announcement was made by the decemvirs to what gods and with what victims the sacrifices should

[1] Cf. XLI. xxv 5, also xxvii. 4, and xxii. 3.

A.U.C. 581

7 et ut supplicatio[1] prodigiis expiandis fieret, alteraque quae[2] priore anno valetudinis populi causa vota esset, ea uti fieret feriaeque[3] essent. Itaque sacrificatum[4] est ut decemviri scriptum ediderant.[5]

III. Eodem anno aedis Iunonis Laciniae detecta. Q. Fulvius Flaccus censor aedem Fortunae Equestris, quam in Hispania praetor bello Celtiberico voverat, faciebat enixo studio ne ullum Romae amplius aut 2 magnificentius templum esset. Magnum ornatum[6] ei templo ratus adiecturum, si tegulae marmoreae essent, profectus in Bruttios aedem Iunonis Laciniae ad partem dimidiam detegit, id satis fore ratus[7] 3 ad tegendum quod aedificaretur. Naves paratae fuerunt quae tollerent atque asportarent, auctoritate censoria sociis deterritis id sacrilegium prohibere. 4 Postquam censor redit, tegulae expositae de navibus 5 ad templum portabantur. Quamquam unde essent silebatur, non tamen celari potuit. Fremitus igitur[8] in curia ortus est; ex omnibus partibus postulabatur ut consules eam rem ad senatum referrent. Ut vero accersitus in curiam censor venit, multo infestius

[1] supplicatio *Fr.*: supplicatioque V.
[2] alteraque quae *Madvig*: anlteraque (*sic*) V.
[3] fieret feriaeque *Hertz*: feriaeque V.
[4] itaque sacrificatum *Fr.*: ita sacrificatumque V.
[5] ediderant *Madvig*: ediderunt V.
[6] ornatum *Madvig*: ornantum V.
[7] ratus *Fr.*: iratus V.
[8] igitur *Fr.*: eius igitur V.

[1] Concerning this noted temple, cf. XXIV. iii., XXVIII. xlvi. 16, XXX. xx. 6. Valerius Maximus, I. i. 20, "moralizes" the story, telling how Fulvius became mentally unbalanced,

be performed, and it was directed that a period of B.C. 173 prayer should be celebrated in atonement for the prodigies and that a second such period should be observed which had been vowed a year before for the sake of the health of the people and that a festival should be held. Accordingly sacrifice was offered in the manner which the decemvirs had published in writing.

III. In the same year the temple of Juno Lacinia[1] was stripped of its roof. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus as censor was building the temple to Fortuna Equestris which he had vowed while praetor in Spain during the Celtiberian war,[2] striving zealously that there should be no temple in Rome larger or more splendid. Considering that it would add great beauty to the temple if the roof tiles were of marble, he set out for Bruttium and stripped the temple of Juno Lacinia of its tiles up to half their number, thinking that these would be sufficient to cover the building which was now being erected. Ships were made ready to load and transport them, the inhabitants being prevented by the censor's high office from forbidding the sacrilege. When the censor returned the tiles were unloaded from the ships and were being taken to the temple. Although nothing was said as to where they were obtained, yet such an act could not be concealed. There was accordingly an outcry in the senate: from all sides the demand was made that the consuls should lay the question before that body. But when the censor was summoned and entered the senate-

and died as a result of hearing that one son had been killed and the other severely wounded in Macedonia; cf. below, ch. xxviii. 10–12.

[2] Cf. XL. xl. 10.

A.U.C. 581

6 singuli universique praesentem lacerare: templum augustissimum regionis eius,[1] quod non Pyrrhus, non Hannibal violassent, violare parum habuisse, nisi[2] 7 detexisset foede ac prope diruisset. Detractum culmen templo, nudatum tectum patere imbribus putrefaciendum. Ad[3] id censorem moribus regendis creatum? Cui sarta tecta exigere sacris publicis et 8 locare[4] tuenda more maiorum traditum esset, eum per sociorum urbes diruentem templa nudantemque tecta aedium sacrarum vagari! Et quod, si in privatis sociorum aedificiis faceret, indignum videri posset, id eum templa deum[5] immortalium demo- 9 lientem facere, et obstringere religione populum Romanum, ruinis templorum templa aedificantem, tamquam non iidem ubique di immortales sint, sed 10 spoliis aliorum alii colendi exornandique! Cum priusquam referretur appareret quid sentirent patres, relatione facta in unam omnes sententiam ierunt ut eae tegulae reportandae in templum locarentur[6] 11 piacularique[7] Iunoni fierent. Quae ad religionem pertinebant[8] cum cura facta; tegulas relictas in area templi, quia reponendarum nemo artifex inire rationem potuerit, redemptores nuntiarunt.

IV. Ex praetoribus, qui in provincias ierant, N. Fabius Massiliae moritur, cum in citeriorem

[1] eius *Fr.*: eiu . . . eius (*sic*) V.
[2] nisi *Fr.*: side V.
[3] ad *add. Hartel*: *om.* V.
[4] locare *Madvig*: loca V.
[5] templa deum *add. Heraeus*: *om.* V.
[6] locarentur *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[7] piacularique *Fr.*: iaeeulariaque (*sic*) V.
[8] pertinebant *Wesenberg*: pertinent V.

house, one and all assailed him to his face far more violently: the most venerable shrine of that region, a shrine which neither Pyrrhus nor Hannibal had violated, he had not been content with violating but had shamefully robbed it of its covering and well-nigh destroyed it. The top, they said, had been torn from the temple and the bare framing laid open to be rotted by the rains. Was it for this, they demanded, that a censor was chosen to control behaviour? That the magistrate to whom had been entrusted, in the fashion of the forefathers, the duty of enforcing the repair of public shrines and of contracting for their maintenance, was himself roving through the cities of the allies plundering the temples and stripping off the roofs of sacred edifices! A thing, they continued, which might well seem unworthy if done to private buildings of the allies, he was doing when he destroyed the temples of the immortal gods, and fastening upon the Roman people the guilt of impiety, building temples with the ruins of temples, just as if the immortal gods were not the same everywhere, but that some should be worshipped and adorned with the spoils of others! When it was clear, before the vote was taken, what the sentiment of the Fathers was, when the motion was put, all unanimously decreed that a contract should be let for carrying the tiles back to the temple and that atonements should be offered to Juno. Those matters which concerned expiation were scrupulously performed; the contractors reported that the tiles had been left in the court of the temple because no workman could devise a plan for replacing them.

B.C. 173

IV. Of the praetors who had gone to the provinces, Numerius Fabius died at Massilia, while he was on

A.U.C. 581

2 Hispaniam iret. Itaque cum id nuntiatum a[1] Massiliensibus legatis esset, senatus decrevit ut P. Furius et Cn. Servilius quibus[2] succedebatur inter se sortirentur, uter citeriorem Hispaniam prorogato 3 imperio obtineret. Sors opportuna fuit, ut[3] P. Furius idem, cuius ea provincia fuerat, remaneret.

Eodem anno, cum agri Ligustini et Gallici, quod bello captum erat aliquantum vacaret, senatus consultum factum,[4] ut is ager viritim divideretur. 4 Decemviros in eam rem[5] ex senatus consulto creavit A. Atilius praetor urbanus M. Aemilium Lepidum C. Cassium T. Aebutium Parrum C. Tremellium P. Cornelium Cethegum Q. et L. Apuleios M. Caecilium C. Salonium C. Munatium. Diviserunt dena iugera in singulos, sociis nominis Latini terna.

5 Per idem tempus, quo haec agebantur, legati ex Aetolia Romam venerunt de discordiis seditionibusque suis,[6] et Thessali legati nuntiantes quae in Macedonia gererentur.

V. Perseus bellum iam[7] vivo patre cogitatum in animo volvens omnes non gentes modo Graeciae, sed civitates etiam legationibus mittendis, pollicendo 2 plura quam praestando, sibi conciliabat. Erant autem[8] magnae partis[9] hominum ad favorem eius

[1] a *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.
[2] *inter* quibus *et* succedebatur *iterum* cum id—esset *scripsit* V, *quae alia manus delevit, signa* ∴ ∴ *super scribens.*
[3] ut *add. Pighius* : *om.* V.
[4] factum *Fr.* : sit factum V. [5] rem *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.
[6] seditionibusque suis *Fr.* : seditionibus suisque V.
[7] bellum iam *Madvig* : iam bellum V.
[8] autem *Madvig* : tamen V. [9] partis *Kreyssig* : pariter V.

[1] Inclusion of allies in such distributions seems to have been unprecedented.
[2] See *supra*, ii. 2.

his way to Nearer Spain. Therefore, when news of B.C. 173 this was brought by ambassadors from Massilia, the senate decreed that Publius Furius and Gnaeus Servilius, who were being replaced, should cast lots and decide between them which should govern Nearer Spain under an extension of his *imperium*. The lot was fortunate in that Publius Furius, the same man under whose command that province had been, was selected to remain.

The same year, since a considerable part of the Ligurian and Gallic land which had been captured in war was unoccupied, a decree of the senate was passed that this land should be assigned to individuals. For this purpose and in accordance with the decree of the senate, the *praetor urbanus*, Aulus Atilius, presided at the election as decemvirs of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Gaius Cassius, Titus Aebutius Parrus, Gaius Tremellius, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus and Lucius Apuleius, Marcus Caecilius, Gaius Salonius, Gaius Munatius. Their allotments to individual citizens were ten *iugera* each, to allies of the Latin confederacy, three each.[1]

About the same time that these events occurred, ambassadors from Aetolia came to Rome to report concerning the quarrels and internal strife of the Aetolians,[2] as well as Thessalian ambassadors bringing news of what was happening in Macedonia.

V. Perseus, pondering in his mind the war which had been planned even before his father's death, was striving to win over to himself not only all the states of Greece but also the cities, sending embassies and making promises rather than carrying them out. Moreover, the sympathies of a large proportion of the people were for him, and they were much more

A.U.C. 581

inclinati animi, et aliquanto quam in Eumenem
3 propensiores, cum Eumenis beneficiis muneribusque
omnes Graeciae civitates et plerique principum
obligati essent, et ita se in regno suo gereret ut quae
sub dicione eius urbes essent,[1] nullius liberae civitatis
4 fortunam secum mutatam vellent. Contra Persea
fama erat post patris mortem uxorem manu sua
occidisse; Apellem,[2] ministrum quondam fraudis in
fratre tollendo atque ob id [3] quaesitum a Philippo ad
supplicium, exulantem [4] accersitum post patris
mortem ingentibus promissis ad praemia tantae
5 perpetratae rei clam interfecisse. Intestinis exter-
nisque praeterea multis caedibus infamem nec ullo
commendabilem merito praeferebant vulgo civitates
tam pio erga propinquos, tam iusto in cives, tam
6 munifico erga omnes homines regi, seu fama et
maiestate Macedonum regum praeoccupati ad
spernendam [5] originem novi regni, seu mutationis
rerum cupidi, seu quia omnia [6] non obiecta esse
7 Romanis volebant. Erant autem non Aetoli modo
in seditionibus propter ingentem vim aeris alieni, sed
Thessali etiam; et [7] contagione velut tabes in
8 Perrhaebiam quoque id pervaserat malum. Cum

[1] essent *add. Curio* : *om.* V.
[2] Apellem *Fr.* : apellemme V.
[3] id *Kreyssig* : id et V.
[4] exulantem *Fr.* : exultantem V.
[5] spernendam *J. F. Gronovius* : sperendium V.
[6] omnia *add. Goldbacher* : *om.* V.
[7] et *J. F. Gronovius* : ea V.

[1] The kingdom of Pergamum dated only from Attalus I, father of Eumenes.

[2] Whether the order of possible explanations is intended by Livy to be climactic, we cannot judge. One suspects that

inclined to favour him than Eumenes, although the B.C. 173
acts of kindness and generosity of Eumenes had put
all of the cities of Greece and many important
personages under obligations to him, and he so
conducted himself in his kingdom that the cities
which were under his control did not desire to exchange
their condition for that of any free state. On the
other hand, there was the rumour that after his
father's death Perseus had killed his wife with his
own hand; that Apelles, once the agent of treachery
in the murder of his brother, who for that reason had
been sought out for punishment by Philip, he had
recalled from exile, after the death of his father,
with lavish offers of rewards for performing so splendid
a deed, and then had secretly put to death. A man
made infamous by many other murders of citizens
and aliens, and worthy of praise for no good quality
whatever, was generally preferred by the states to a
king so devoted to his relatives, so just to his citizens,
so generous to all men, whether because these
states were predisposed, on account of the reputation
and dignity of the Macedonian kings, to despise the
origin of a kingdom recently formed,[1] or because they
were eager for a change in their condition, or because
they did not wish all things to become completely
subject to the Romans.[2] But it was not the Aetolians
alone who were in a state of civil war because of the
huge burden of debt, but also the Thessalians; and
spreading by contact like a pestilence, the evil had
reached even into Perrhaebia. When the news came

anti-Roman elements, as well as others more purely patriotic, now saw in Perseus their only hope of escape from Roman domination, as once the Greeks had looked to the Romans to save them from Philip.

A.U.C. 581

Thessalos in armis esse nuntiatum esset,[1] Ap. Claudium legatum ad eas res aspiciendas componen-
9 dasque senatus misit. Qui utriusque partis principibus castigatis, cum iniusto faenore gravatum aes alienum, ipsis magna ex parte concedentibus qui onerarant levasset, iusti crediti solutionem in decem annorum [2]
10 pensiones distribuit. Per eundem Appium eodemque modo compositae in Perrhaebia res. Aetolorum causas M.[3] Marcellus Delphis per idem tempus iisdem [4] hostilibus actas animis quos [5] intestino gesserant
11 bello cognovit. Cum certatum utrimque temeritate atque audacia cerneret, decreto quidem suo neutram partem aut levare aut onerare voluit; communiter ab utrisque petit abstinerent bello et oblivione praeteri-
12 torum [6] discordias finirent. Huius reconciliationis inter ipsos fides obsidibus ultro citroque datis firmata est. Corinthus, ut ibi [7] deponerentur obsides, convenit.

VI. A Delphis et Aetolico concilio Marcellus in Peloponnesum traiecit Aegium,[8] quo Achaeis edixerat
2 conventum. Ubi collaudata gente quod constanter vetus decretum de arcendis aditu finium regibus Macedonum tenuissent, insigne adversus Persea
3 odium [9] Romanorum fecit; quod ut maturius

[1] esset *J. F. Gronovius*: est V.
[2] decem annorum *Weissenborn*: zannorum V.
[3] M. *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[4] iisdem *add. Madvig*: *om.* V. [5] quos *Ruperti*: quas V.
[6] praeteritorum *Fr.*: praetorum V.
[7] ut ibi *Kreyssig*: utubi V.
[8] Aegium *add. H. J. Mueller*: *om.* V.
[9] Persea odium *Fr.*: persedonum V.

[1] Marcellus, in calling a council, overstepped the bounds set by the senate in 184 B.C. (XXXIX. xxxiii. 8), but perhaps Livy has not stated the facts exactly.

that the Thessalians were in arms, the senate sent B.C. 173 Appius Claudius as commissioner to investigate and settle these affairs. He, after reproving the leaders of both factions and lightening the burden of the debts which had been made more grievous by illegal interest, the majority of the creditors who had imposed it having made this concession, provided for the payment of the just debts in ten annual installments. The difficulties in Perrhaebia were settled by the same Appius and on the same basis. Marcus Marcellus, who was at Delphi about the same time, learned that the Aetolians were pleading their cases in the same belligerent spirit which they had shown in their civil war. When he saw that both sides were contending with reckless violence, he was unwilling, so far as his decree was concerned, either to lighten or to increase the burden of either side; he asked the two in common to refrain from their warfare and to end their quarrels in forgetfulness of the past. By an exchange of hostages they gave assurance of their mutual good faith in their reconciliation. Corinth was designated as the place in which the hostages should be placed in custody.

VI. From Delphi and the meeting of the Aetolian council Marcellus crossed to Aegium in the Peloponnesus, where he had called [1] a meeting of the Achaeans. There, having heartily praised the people because they had steadfastly adhered to their old resolution [2] not to permit the kings of the Macedonians to enter their territory, he made conspicuous the hatred which the Romans felt for Perseus; that this hatred should break out betimes was the conse-

[2] Cf. XLI. xxiii. 1.

A.U.C. 581

erumperet, Eumenes rex commentarium ferens secum, quod de apparatibus belli omnia inquirens
4 fecerat, Romam venit. Per idem tempus quinque legati ad regem missi, qui res in Macedonia aspicerent. Alexandriam iidem ad Ptolemaeum renovandae
5 amicitiae causa proficisci iussi. Legati erant hi: C. Valerius C. Lutatius Cerco Q. Baebius Sulca M.
6 Cornelius Mammula M. Caecilius Denter. Et ab [1] Antiocho rege sub idem tempus legati venerunt; quorum princeps Apollonius in senatum introductus multis iustisque causis regem excusavit, quod stipen-
7 dium serius quam ad [2] diem praestaret; id se omne advexisse, ne cuius nisi temporis gratia regi fieret.
8 Donum praeterea afferre, vasa aurea quingentum pondo. Petere regem ut, quae cum patre suo societas atque amicitia fuisset, ea secum renovaretur, imperaretque sibi populus Romanus, quae bono fidelique socio regi essent imperanda; se in [3] nullo
9 usquam cessaturum officio. Ea merita in se [4] senatus fuisse cum Romae esset, eam comitatem iuventutis, ut pro rege non pro obside omnibus
10 ordinibus fuerit. Legatis benigne responsum, et societatem renovare cum Antiocho quae cum patre eius fuerat, A. Atilius praetor urbanus iussus.
11 Quaestores urbani stipendium, vasa aurea censores

[1] ab *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[2] quam ad *Duker*: quoad V.
[3] in *add. Wesenberg*: *om.* V.
[4] se *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] Ptolemy V (Epiphanes) had been succeeded in 181 B.C. by the boy Ptolemy VI (Philometor), but Livy has not previously mentioned the fact.

[2] For the Romanizing of Antiochus Epiphanes, cf. XLI. XX. 1 ff.

quence of the arrival in Rome of King Eumenes, B.C. 173
bringing with him a memorandum which he had prepared, after thorough investigation, as to Perseus' preparations for war. About the same time five commissioners were sent to the king to look into the situation in Macedonia. They were also instructed to proceed to Alexandria for the purpose of renewing the friendship of the Romans with Ptolemy.[1] The commissioners were the following: Gaius Valerius, Gaius Lutatius Cerco, Quintus Baebius Sulca, Marcus Cornelius Mammula, Marcus Caecilius Denter. From King Antiochus [2] also came ambassadors about the same time: their chief, Apollonius, when he was given an audience before the senate, made explanations for the king, giving many plausible reasons why he was paying his tribute later than the appointed day; he had, he said, brought the entire sum with him in order that the king might ask no indulgence except in the matter of the delay. In addition, he said that he was bringing, as a gift, golden vases of five hundred pounds' weight. The king begged that the alliance and friendship which had existed with his father might be renewed with him too, and that the Roman people would give him any orders which were proper to give to a king who was a loyal and faithful ally; he would fail in no performance of duty. The senate, the ambassador went on, had rendered such services to the king when he was in Rome, the young men such courtesy, that all ranks had regarded him as a king, not as a hostage. The ambassadors received a gracious reply, and Aulus Atilius, the *praetor urbanus*, was instructed to renew with Antiochus the treaty which had existed with his father. The city quaestors received the tribute, the

A.U.C. 581

acceperunt, eisque negotium datum est ut ponerent ea in quibus templis videretur; legato[1] centum milium aeris munus missum et aedes liberae hospitio datae sumptusque decretus, donec in Italia esset. 12 Legati qui in Syria fuerant renuntiaverant[2] in maximo eum honore apud regem esse amicissimumque populo Romano.

VII. In provinciis eo anno haec acta.[3] C. Cicereius praetor in Corsica signis collatis pugnavit; septem milia Corsorum caesa, capti amplius mille et septingenti. Voverat in ea pugna praetor aedem Iunoni 2 Monetae. Pax deinde data petentibus Corsis, et exacta cerae ducenta[4] milia pondo. Ex Corsica 3 subacta Cicereius in Sardiniam transmisit. Et in Liguribus in agro Statellati pugnatum ad oppidum Carystum. Eo se magnus exercitus Ligurum con- 4 tulerat. Primo sub adventum M. Popili consulis moenibus sese continebant; deinde, postquam oppidum oppugnaturum Romanum cernebant, pro- 5 gressi ante portas aciem struxerunt. Nec consul, ut qui id ipsum oppugnatione comminanda quaesisset, moram certamini fecit. Pugnatum amplius tres est 6 horas ita ut neutro inclinaret spes. Quod ubi consul vidit nulla parte moveri Ligurum signa, imperat equitibus ut equos conscendant ac tribus simul partibus in hostes quanto maximo possent tumultu incurrant.

[1] legato *Vahlen*: que legato V.
[2] renuntiaverant *Crévier*: renuntiauerunt V.
[3] acta *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[4] ducenta *Crévier*: ducena V.

[1] The usual procedure was to give 2000 *asses* to each member of an embassy (cf. e.g. xix. 6 below); the last sentence of the chapter may explain the senate's generosity to Apollonius.

censors the golden vases, and the responsibility was B.C. 173 delegated to them of depositing them in whatever temples they saw fit; the ambassador[1] received one hundred thousand *as*-pieces as a gift, and a house, free of charge, was given for his entertainment, and his expenses, so long as he should be in Italy, were provided for by decree. The Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria had reported that Apollonius stood in highest favour with the king and was most friendly to the Roman people.

VII. The following were the events of the year in the provinces: Gaius Cicereius the praetor fought a pitched battle in Corsica; seven thousand of the Corsicans were killed and more than seventeen hundred captured. During that battle the praetor had vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. Peace was then granted at the request of the Corsicans, and two hundred thousand pounds of wax demanded of them. Having subdued Corsica, Cicereius then crossed into Sardinia. Among the Ligurians also there was a battle near the town of Carystus in the territory of Statellae. Thither a great army of Ligurians had assembled. At first, at the approach of Marcus Popilius the consul, they kept within their ramparts; later, when they saw that the Roman was about to assault the town, they moved out and formed in line of battle in front of the gates. Nor did the consul, since he had sought just this by threatening an assault, delay the engagement. The battle raged for more than three hours in such a way that hope inclined to neither side. Then, when the consul saw that the Ligurian masses were nowhere shaken, he ordered the cavalry to mount their horses and to charge the enemy at three points at the same time and with all

A.U.C. 581

7 Pars magna equitum mediam traiecit aciem et ad terga pugnantium pervasit. Inde terror iniectus
8 Liguribus; diversi in omnes partes fugerunt, perpauci retro in oppidum, quia inde se maxime obiecerat eques. Et pugna tam pervicax multos absumpserat
9 Ligurum, et in fuga passim caesi sunt. Decem milia hominum caesa traduntur, amplius septingenti
10 capti,[1] signa militaria relata octoginta duo. Nec[2] incruenta victoria fuit: amplius tria milia militum amissa, cum cedentibus neutris ex parte utraque primores caderent.

VIII. Post hanc pugnam ex diversa fuga in unum collecti Ligures, cum maiorem multo partem civium amissam quam superesse cernerent—nec enim plus decem milia hominum erant—dediderunt sese, nihil
2 quidem illi pacti; speraverant tamen, non[3] atrocius quam superiores imperatores consulem in se saevitu-
3 rum. At ille arma omnibus ademit, oppidum diruit, ipsos bonaque eorum vendidit; litterasque senatui
4 de rebus ab se gestis misit. Quas cum A. Atilius praetor in curia recitasset—nam consul alter Postumius agris recognoscendis[4] in Campania occupatus
5 aberat—atrox res visa senatui, Statellates, qui uni ex Ligurum gente non tulissent arma adversus Romanos, tum quoque oppugnatos, non ultro

[1] capti *Madvig*: passim capti V.
[2] Nec *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[3] non *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] recognoscendis *Fr.*: secognoscendis V.

possible uproar. A large part of the cavalry pene- B.C. 173
trated the centre of the line and pushed their way through to the rear of the fighters. As a result, the Ligurians were thrown into a panic; they scattered in flight in all directions, very few returning to the town because there more than anywhere else the cavalry had thrown themselves in the way. Not only had a fight so stubborn destroyed many of the Ligurians, but others also were cut down in their random flight. It is said that ten thousand men were killed, and more than seven hundred captured, and that eighty-two military standards were brought back. Nor was the victory bloodless: more than three thousand Roman soldiers were lost, since the front ranks on both sides were slain when neither army gave way.

VIII. When the Ligurians, after this battle, had assembled in one place from their scattered flight, and they saw that a far greater number of their citizens was lost than saved—for there were not more than ten thousand of them—they surrendered, without, indeed, making any stipulations; nevertheless they had hoped that the consul would treat them with no greater severity than former commanders had shown. But he disarmed them all, demolished their town, and sold them and all their property; then he sent dispatches to the senate reporting his achievement. When Aulus Atilius the praetor had read them in the senate—for the other consul Postumius was absent, being busy in Campania with surveying the public lands—the action seemed outrageous to the senate, that the Statellates, who alone of the Ligurians had not made war on the Romans, who even on this occasion had been attacked

A.U.C. 581

inferentes bellum, deditos in fidem populi Romani omni ultimae crudelitatis exemplo laceratos ac
6 deletos esse, tot milia capitum innoxiorum, fidem implorantia populi Romani, ne quis umquam se postea dedere auderet, pessimo exemplo venisse, et distractos passim iustis quondam hostibus populi
7 Romani pacatos servire. Quas ob res placere senatui, M. Popilium consulem Ligures, pretio emptoribus reddito, ipsos restituere in libertatem, bonaque ut iis, quod [1] eius reciperari possit, reddantur curare;
8 arma quoque reddi, eaque omnia primo [2] quoque tempore fieri; nec ante consulem de provincia decedere quam deditos in sedem suam Ligures restituisset. Claram victoriam vincendo pugnantes,[3] non saeviendo in afflictos fieri.

IX. Consul, qua ferocia animi usus erat in Liguribus, eandem ad non parendum [4] senatui habuit.
2 Legionibus extemplo Pisas in hibernacula missis [5] iratus patribus, infestus [6] praetori Romam redit; senatuque extemplo ad aedem Bellonae vocato, multis
3 verbis invectus in praetorem qui, cum ob rem bello bene gestam uti diis immortalibus honos haberetur

[1] iis quod *conj. Weissenborn, but in his text reads* iis quicquid: isquiquod V.
[2] quoque—primo *add. Madvig,* omnia *autem Heraeus om.* V.
[3] pugnantes *Clericus*: oppugnantis V.
[4] parendum *Fr.*: parendum fuit V.
[5] hibernacula missis *Fr.*: hibernaculia missi (*sic*) V.
[6] infestus *Fr.*: infectus V.

[1] A surrender usually assumed that the lives and personal liberties of the surrendered would be respected. Senatorial policy toward the Ligurians had been somewhat vacillating, though never countenancing such severity as that of Popilius.

although they had not begun a war, who had entrusted B.C. 173
themselves to the good faith of the Roman people, should have been harassed and destroyed with every form of extreme cruelty, that so many thousands of innocent persons, calling upon the Roman people for protection, should have been sold—a fate which established the worst possible precedent and issued a warning that no one should ever dare in the future to surrender—and, scattered in every direction, should, though at peace, be slaves to those who had once been downright enemies of the Roman people.[1] For these reasons the senate decreed that the consul Marcus Popilius should restore to liberty the Ligurians themselves, returning the purchase-price to the purchasers, and should see to it that their property, such of it as could be recovered, should be given back to them; that their arms also should be returned to them; and that all this should be done at the earliest possible moment; and that the consul should not leave his province until he had re-established the surrendered Ligurians in their homes. A truly glorious victory, they added, was won by defeating men in battle, not by torturing the distressed.

IX. The consul turned the arrogance of soul which he had displayed towards the Ligurians to disobeying the senate. He straightway sent the legions into winter-quarters at Pisa, and himself, angry with the Fathers and enraged at the praetor, returned to Rome; and immediately summoning the senate to the temple of Bellona, he assailed at great length the praetor who, although by reason of the success in the war he ought to have put to the senate a motion that honour be paid to the immortal

A.U.C. 581

referre ad senatum debuisset, adversus se pro hostibus senatus consultum fecisset, quo victoriam suam ad Ligures transferret dedique iis prope consulem praetor iuberet: itaque multam ei se dicere; a patribus postulare ut senatus consultum in se factum tolli iuberent, supplicationemque, quam absente se ex[1] litteris de bene gesta re publica missis decernere debuerint, praesente se honoris[2] deorum primum causa, deinde et sui aliquo tamen respectu decernerent. Nihilo lenioribus quam absens senatorum aliquot orationibus increpitus neutra impetrata re in provinciam redit.

Alter consul Postumius consumpta aestate in recognoscendis agris, ne visa[3] quidem provincia sua comitiorum causa Romam redit. Consules C. Popilium Laenatem P. Aelium Ligurem creavit. Praetores exinde facti C. Licinius Crassus M. Iunius Pennus Sp. Lucretius Sp. Cluvius Cn. Sicinius C. Memmius iterum.[4]

X. Eo anno lustrum conditum est; censores erant Q. Fulvius Flaccus A. Postumius[5] Albinus; Postu-

[1] se ex *Pithoeus*: sex V.
[2] praesente se honoris *Madvig*: praesentes honores V.
[3] ne visa *Fr.*: neua V.
[4] C. Memmius iterum *Fr.*: sicterum V.
[5] Fulvius Flaccus, A. Postumius Albinus *Sigonius*: Fulvius Flaccus L. Postumius Albinus. Postumius *Fr.*: Fulus Albinus Postumius V.

[1] The ultimate fate of the Ligurians is unknown, but it appears that neither senate nor consul could coerce the other, and it is doubtful whether Popilius carried out the instructions. It may be inferred from the election of Popilius' brother as consul that he had some popular support. For the final outcome, see below, xxi.

gods, had proposed a decree of the senate directed against Popilius and in favour of the enemy, by which he was transferring the consul's victory to the Ligurians and (although himself only a praetor) was almost ordering the consul to be delivered to them: therefore he imposed a fine upon the praetor; he begged the Fathers to order that the decree of the senate which had been passed against him should be repealed, and that the thanksgiving which they should have voted in his absence, in consequence of the dispatches which he had sent regarding his victory, should now be decreed in his presence: first, to render honour to the gods; second, to show at least some sign of respect to himself. The consul was attacked by a number of the senators in speeches no less severe than those delivered in his absence, and returned to his province without obtaining either petition.[1] B.C. 173

The other consul, Postumius, spent the summer surveying the public lands, and without seeing his province at all returned to Rome to hold the elections. He announced the choice of Gaius Popilius Laenas and Publius Aelius Ligur.[2] Next the praetors were chosen: Gaius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Junius Pennus, Spurius Lucretius, Spurius Cluvius, Gnaeus Sicinius, Gaius Memmius (for the second time).[3]

X. In that year the *lustrum* was closed; the censors were Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius

[2] According to the Fasti Capitolini, this is the first election at which two plebeians were chosen consuls.
[3] The name of Memmius is restored from x. 14 below. To judge from the reading of V (see the critical note), *iterum* belongs with Memmius, although no previous praetorship for him is recorded. Sicinius had been praetor in 183 B.C. (XXXIX. xlv. 2), so that perhaps *iterum* has been misplaced. I have not ventured to transpose it.

A.U.C. 581

2 mius condidit. Censa sunt civium Romanorum capita
3 ducenta sexaginta novem milia et quindecim, minor aliquanto numerus, quia L. Postumius consul pro contione edixerat, qui socium Latini nominis ex edicto C. Claudi consulis redire in civitates suas debuissent, ne quis eorum Romae, et omnes in suis
4 civitatibus censerentur. Concors et e re publica censura fuit. Omnes quos senatu moverunt quibusque equos ademerunt,[1] aerarios fecerunt et tribu moverunt;
5 neque ab altero notatum alter probavit. Fulvius aedem Fortunae Equestris quam proconsul in Hispania dimicans cum Celtiberorum legionibus voverat, annis [2] sex post quam voverat dedicavit, et scaenicos ludos per quadriduum, unum diem in circo fecit.
6 L. Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir sacrorum, eo anno mortuus est. In locum eius suffectus A. Postumius
7 Albinus. Lucustarum tantae nubes a mari [3] repente in Apuliam illatae sunt ut examinibus suis agros late
8 operirent.[4] Ad quam pestem frugum tollendam Cn. Sicinius, praetor designatus, cum imperio in [5] Apuliam missus, ingenti agmine hominum ad colligendas eas coacto aliquantum temporis absumpsit.

A.U.C. 582

9 Principium insequentis anni, quo C. Popilius et P. Aelius fuerunt consules, residuas contentiones ex
10 priore anno habuit. Patres referri de Liguribus renovarique senatus consultum volebant, et consul

[1] equos ademerunt *Fr.*: quas demerunt V.
[2] annis *Lentz*: annos V. [3] a mari *Vahlen*: amant V.
[4] operirent *Fr.*: operirentur V. [5] in *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] But the *Periocha* gives 267,231.
[2] Cf. IV. xxiv. 7, and the note. [3] Cf. above, iii. 1.
[4] This action was necessary since M. Popilius was no longer a consul.

Albinus; Postumius closed the *lustrum*. The number B.C. 173
of Roman citizens listed in the census was 269,015,[1] a somewhat smaller number because the consul Lucius Postumius had proclaimed before an assembly that of the allies of the Latin confederacy who had been obligated, under the edict of Gaius Claudius the consul, to return to their cities, no one should be listed at Rome but all in their own cities. The censorship was harmonious and useful to the state. All those whom they expelled from the senate or whose horses they took away were transferred to the *aerarii*[2] and removed from their tribes; neither censor approved anyone who had been marked for censure by the other. Fulvius dedicated the temple of Fortuna Equestris which, as proconsul in Spain, he had vowed while fighting with the legions of the Celtiberians, six[3] years after he had vowed it, and he gave theatrical performances for four days and one day in the circus.

Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir in charge of sacrifices, died that year. To replace him Aulus Postumius Albinus was chosen. Such great clouds of locusts from the sea suddenly appeared over Apulia that they covered the fields far and wide with their swarms. To destroy this pest, so fatal to crops, Gnaeus Sicinius, praetor-elect, was invested with the *imperium* and sent to Apulia, and assembling a vast crowd of men to collect the locusts, spent a certain amount of time in this way.

The beginning of the following year, in the consul- B.C. 172
ship of Gaius Popilius and Publius Aelius, continued the unfinished controversies of the preceding year. The Fathers wished the decree of the senate regarding the Ligurians to be resubmitted and re-adopted,[4] and

a.u.c. 582

Aelius referebat. Popilius et collegam et senatum pro fratre deprecabatur, prae se ferens si quid decernerent
11 intercessurum. Collegam deterruit; patres eo magis utrique pariter consuli infensi, in incepto perstabant. Itaque cum de provinciis ageretur et Macedonia iam imminente Persei bello peteretur, Ligures am-
12 bobus consulibus decernunt;[1] Macedoniam decreturos negant, ni[2] de M. Popilio referretur. Postulantibus deinde ut novos exercitus scribere aut supplementum
13 veteribus liceret, utrumque negatum est. Praetoribus quoque in Hispaniam supplementum petentibus negatum, M. Iunio in[3] citeriorem, Sp. Lucretio in
14 ulteriorem. C. Licinius Crassus urbanam iurisdictionem, Cn. Sicinius inter peregrinos erat sortitus, C. Memmius Siciliam, Sp. Cluvius Sardiniam.
15 Consules ob ea irati senatui, Latinis feriis in primam quamque diem indictis, in provinciam abituros esse denuntiarunt, nec quicquam rei publicae acturos, praeterquam quod ad provinciarum administrationem attineret.

XI. Attalum, regis Eumenis fratrem, legatum venisse[4] Romam Valerius Antias his consulibus scribit ad deferenda de Perseo[5] crimina indicandosque apparatus belli. Plurium annales, et quibus credidisse

[1] decernunt *Bekker*: decernuntur V.
[2] ni *add. Fr.*: *om.* V. [3] in *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] venisse *Fr.*: uidisse V. [5] Perseo *Fr.*: persona V.

[1] Polybius (XXIV. 5) (L.C.L.) and Diodorus (XXIX. xxv) place the embassy of Attalus earlier; it may have been mentioned in some lost portion of Book XLI.

[2] It is uncertain who these other annalists were. Claudius Quadrigarius was probably one of them. For similar choices by Livy between divergent accounts, cf. V. xlvi. 11, VIII. xviii. 2, XXI. xxviii. 6, and xxxviii. (here Livy uses better principles than elsewhere), XXI. xlvi. 10, XXXVIII. lv. 8, XXXIX. liii (a careful discussion, but see the note, vol. XI., p. 385).

the consul Aelius was ready to submit it. Popilius B.C. 172 entreated both his colleague and the senate on behalf of his brother, declaring that if they passed any decree he would veto it. Aelius he discouraged from acting; the Fathers, enraged at both consuls alike for that reason, stood by their proposal the more vigorously. And so, when the question of provinces was taken up and Macedonia was sought after, because war with Perseus was now threatening, they decreed the Ligurians to both consuls; they refused to decree Macedonia unless the motion regarding Marcus Popilius were put to them. Then, when the consuls requested that they be authorized to enlist new armies or reinforcements for the old, both petitions were denied. The praetors also, who were asking for reinforcements for Spain, were refused, Marcus Junius for Nearer Spain, Spurius Lucretius for Farther Spain. Gaius Licinius Crassus had received the civil jurisdiction from the lots, Gnaeus Sicinius that between aliens, Sicily was assigned to Gaius Memmius, Sardinia to Spurius Cluvius. The consuls, angered at the senate for these reasons, proclaimed the Latin festival for the first available day and announced that they would set out to their province and would transact no public business except that which pertained to the government of the provinces.

XI. Valerius Antias writes[1] that Attalus, the brother of King Eumenes, came as an ambassador to Rome in this same consulship, to lay charges against Perseus and to give an account of his preparations for war. The works of the majority of historians,[2]

Livy seems to have learned historical discretion in the course of his huge task, but never quite attained to scientific criticism of his sources.

A.U.C. 582

2 malis, ipsum Eumenem venisse tradunt. Eumenes igitur ut Romam venit, exceptus cum tanto honore quantum non meritis tantum eius, sed beneficiis etiam suis, ingentia quae in eum congesta erant, existimabant [1] deberi, a praetore [2] in senatum est 3 introductus. Causam veniendi sibi Romam fuisse dixit praeter cupiditatem videndi [3] deos hominesque, quorum beneficio in ea fortuna esset, supra quam ne optare quidem auderet, etiam ut coram [4] moneret 4 senatum ut Persei conatis obviam iret. Orsus inde a Philippi consiliis necem Demetri filii rettulit, adversantis Romano bello; Bastarnarum gentem excitam sedibus suis, quorum auxiliis fretus in Italiam 5 transiret. Haec secum volutantem [5] in animo, oppressum fato, regnum ei reliquisse, quem infestissimum esse sensisset Romanis. Itaque Persea hereditarium a [6] patre relictum bellum et simul cum imperio traditum, iamiam proximum [7] alere ac fovere 6 omnibus consiliis. Florere praeterea iuventute quam stirpem longa pax ediderit, florere opibus regni, florere etiam aetate. Quae cum corporis robore ac viribus vigeat, animum esse inveteratum diutina arte atque 7 usu belli. Iam inde a puero patris contubernio Romanis quoque bellis, non finitimis [8] tantum

[1] existimabant *Madvig*: existimant V.
[2] a praetore *Madvig*: p̄r (*sic*) V.
[3] videndi *edd. vett.*: uiuendi V.
[4] coram *Fr.*: coronam V.
[5] haec secum volutantem *Woelfflin*: haec cum uoluntatem V.
[6] a *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[7] proximum *Vahlen*: primum V.
[8] finitimis *Fr.*: infinitumis V.

[1] Cf. XL. lvii. 6–9.

and men whom you would prefer to trust, say that B.C. 172
Eumenes himself came. Eumenes, then, on his arrival in Rome was received with such honours as they believed not only due to his deserts but also commensurate with their own favours which had been heaped upon him in abundance, and was introduced into the senate by the praetor. He said that the reason for his coming to Rome, in addition to his desire to see the gods and men by whose kindness he enjoyed a fortune beyond which he did not venture even to wish for anything, had been to give public warning to the senate that they should take measures against the designs of Perseus. Then, beginning with the plans of Philip, he spoke of the death of Philip's son Demetrius, who opposed the war with Rome, and mentioned the summoning of the people of the Bastarnae from their homes, relying on whose aid [1] Philip was to cross into Italy. While he was revolving such plans in his mind, death had overtaken him, and he had left his kingdom to the one who (he had seen) was most dangerous to the Romans. And so, Eumenes said, Perseus had long been preparing a war which had been left him as a legacy by his father and handed on to him along with the throne, and had been feeding and nursing it—it was now very close—by all possible schemes. Perseus, besides, was strong in the number of his young men, a generation which the long peace had brought forth, was strong in the resources of his kingdom, was strong too in his own youth. While he possessed strength and vigour of body, his mind too had been long trained in the theory and practice of war. Even from boyhood, in his fathers' tent, he had been made accustomed to wars with Rome, not merely to campaigns against their neigh-

a.u.c. 582

adsuetum, missum a patre in expeditiones multas
8 variasque. Iam ex quo ipse accepisset regnum,
multa, quae non vi non dolo Philippus omnia expertus
potuisset moliri, admirando rerum successu tenuisse.
9 Accessisse ad vires eam quae longo tempore multis
magnisque meritis pareretur auctoritatem.

XII. Nam apud[1] Graeciae atque Asiae civitates
vereri maiestatem eius omnes. Nec pro quibus
meritis pro qua munificentia tantum ei tribuatur,
2 cernere nec dicere pro certo posse,[2] utrum felicitate
id quadam eius accidat an, quod ipse vereatur
dicere, invidia adversus Romanos favorem illi con-
3 ciliet. Inter ipsos quoque reges ingentem auctoritate
esse[3] Seleuci filiam duxisse eum, non petentem,
sed petitum ultro; sororem dedisse Prusiae precanti
4 atque[4] oranti; celebratas esse utrasque nuptias
gratulatione donisque[5] innumerabilium legationum,
et velut auspicibus nobilissimis populis deductas esse.
5 Boeotorum gentem, captatam Philippo, numquam ad
6 scribendum amicitiae foedus adduci potuisse; tribus
nunc locis cum Perseo foedus incisum litteris esse,
uno Thebis, altero ad Delium,[6] augustissimo et

[1] nam apud *Fr.*: nonaput V.
[2] certo posse *Fr.*: certumesse V.
[3] esse *add. Hertz*: *om.* V.
[4] atque oranti *Kreyssig*: adoranti V.
[5] donisque *Fr.*: donis V.
[6] altero ad Delium *Madvig*: alteradsidenum V.

[1] We can hardly question that fear of the Romans made many turn to Perseus as a possible source of freedom from Roman control.

[2] Cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge* (3rd ed.) 639, a dedicatory inscription to the queen, Laodice, by the people of Delos.

[3] Livy has confused Greek and Roman ceremonies. The *νυμφαγωγοί* who escorted the bride assume also the (Roman) rôle of takers of the auspices. I have tried to suggest the dual meaning in the translation.

bours, and had been sent by his father on many and B.C. 172
various expeditions. From the moment he had received the throne, Eumenes went on to say, he had gained, in a marvellous series of triumphs, many things which Philip had been unable to accomplish either by force or by craft, although he had left nothing untried. There had been added to his strength an influence which was usually acquired through a long period of time and by numerous and important services.

XII. For, said Eumenes, all men in the cities of Greece and Asia revered his dignity. In consideration of what services or what generosity such respect was being paid him, Eumenes could not see, or say for certain whether this was happening by reason of a certain good luck or whether—and Eumenes feared to suggest this—the ill-will felt for the Romans won men over to his cause.[1] Even among the kings he was great in influence and had married the daughter of Seleucus,[2] not having sought her but rather having been sought; he had given his sister to Prusias, who had begged and entreated for her; both marriages had been greeted with congratulations and gifts from countless embassies, and the nuptial processions were accompanied, as it were, by the noblest peoples as sponsors and attendants.[3] The Boeotian people, to whom Philip had paid court, could never be induced to sign any treaty of alliance; but now a treaty with Perseus was engraved in three places, one at Thebes, the second at Delium[4] in a

[4] The conjecture of Madvig has been adopted since Delium, conjectured by him, is in Boeotia; the alternative is Delos. The text is uncertain. For Delos as a publicity centre, cf. Polybius XXV. 3: "(Perseus) posted up lists of these (exiles) at Delos, Delphi, and the temple of Itonian Athena."

A.U.C. 582

celeberrimo in templo, tertio Delphis. In Achaico concilio vero, nisi discussa res per paucos Romanum imperium intentantes esset, eo rem [1] prope adductam
7 ut aditus ei in Achaiam daretur. At hercule suos honores, cuius merita in eam gentem privatim an publice sint maiora vix dici possit,[2] partim desertos per incultum ac neglegentiam, partim hostiliter sublatos esse. Iam Aetolos quem ignorare in seditionibus suis non ab Romanis, sed a Perseo praesidium
8 petisse? His eum fultum societatibus atque amicitiis eos domesticos apparatus belli habere ut externis non [3] egeat. Triginta milibus peditum, quinque milibus equitum in decem annos frumentum praeparasse, ut abstinere et suo et hostium agro frument-
9 andi causa possit. Iam pecuniam tantam habere ut decem milibus [4] mercennariorum militum praeter Macedonum copias stipendium in totidem annos praeparatum habeat, praeter annuum quod ex
10 metallis regiis capiat vectigal. Arma vel tribus tantis [5] exercitibus in armamentaria congessisse. Iuventutem, ut iam Macedonia deficiat, velut ex perenni fonte unde hauriat, Thraciam [6] subiectam esse.

XIII. Reliquum orationis adhortatio fuit. " Non ego haec " inquit " incertis iactata rumoribus et cupidius credita, quia vera esse de inimico crimina volebam, adfero ad vos, patres conscripti, sed com-

[1] eo rem *Fr.*: aeoru (*sic*) V.
[2] possit *Madvig*: posset V.
[3] ut externis non *Fr.*: non ut expertis non V.
[4] milibus *J. F. Gronovius*: milia V.
[5] tantis *Sigonius*: tantum V.
[6] Thraciam *Fr.*: theriam V.

[1] Cf. XLI. xxiii. [2] Cf. XXXIX. xxiv. 2.

most revered and celebrated temple, the third at B.C. 172
Delphi. In the Achaean council, moreover, if the action had not been prevented by a few men who threatened them with the Roman might, matters were almost brought to such a pass that access into Achaea was granted him.[1] But, by Hercules, the honours of Eumenes himself, of whose services to that people it could hardly be determined whether the public or the private were the greater, had partly been abandoned from disuse and neglect, partly abolished in hostility. Again, who, he asked, did not know that the Aetolians in their internal strife had sought aid, not from the Romans, but from Perseus? Supported by these alliances and friendships, Perseus had such military resources at home that he did not need foreign aid. He had made ready a grain supply sufficient for ten years for thirty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, so that he could be independent of both his own and the enemy's land in the matter of provisions. He now possessed so much money that he had in readiness pay for ten thousand mercenary troops, for the same period of years, in addition to his Macedonian forces, besides the annual revenue which he derived from the royal mines.[2] Weapons for armies even three times as great had been heaped up by him in his arsenals. Now the youth of Thrace was placed under his control, from which he could draw as if from a never-failing spring in case Macedonia should ever be exhausted.

XIII. The rest of his speech was exhortation: " I am relating this to you, conscript Fathers," he said, " not as founded on uncertain rumours and too eagerly accepted because I wished these charges against an enemy to be true, but as ascertained and

A.U.C. 582

perta et explorata, haud secus[1] quam si speculator
2 missus a vobis subiecta oculis referrem; neque
relicto regno meo, quod amplum et egregium vos
fecistis, mare tantum traiecissem ut vana ad vos
3 afferendo[2] fidem abrogarem mihi; cernebam nobil-
issimas Asiae et Graeciae civitates in dies magis
denudantes iudicia sua, mox, si permitteretur, eo
processuras unde receptum ad paenitendum non
4 haberent;[3] cernebam Persea non continentem se
Macedoniae regno, alia armis occupantem, alia, quae
vi subigi non possent,[4] favore ac benevolentia com-
5 plectentem; videbam quam impar esset sors, cum
ille vobis bellum pararet[5] vos ei securam pacem
praestaretis, quamquam mihi quidem non parare
sed gerere paene bellum videbatur. Abrupolim,
socium atque amicum vestrum, regno expulit;
6 Arthetaurum Illyrium, quia scripta ab eo quaedam
vobis comperit, socium item atque amicum vestrum,
7 interfecit; Euersam et Callicritum Thebanos, prin-
cipes civitatis, quia liberius adversus eum in concilio
Boeotorum locuti fuerant delaturosque ad vos quae
8 agerentur, professi erant, tollendos curavit; auxilium
Byzantiis adversus foedus tulit; Dolopiae bellum[6]
intulit; Thessaliam et Doridem cum exercitu pervasit
ut in bello intestino deterioris partis auxilio meliorem

[1] secus *Fr.*: secum V.
[2] afferendo *Fr.*: fecistis adferendo V.
[3] haberent *Fr.*: haberem V.
[4] possent *Ruperti*: possant V.
[5] pararet *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[6] bellum *J. F. Gronovius*: bella V.

[1] Cf. Polybius XXII. 18 (L.C.L.). If Livy has mentioned the episode it has been lost, perhaps in Book XLI.

discovered with as much accuracy as if I had been B.C. 173
sent by you as a scout to investigate and were report-
ing what lay before my eyes; nor should I have left my
kingdom, which you have made extensive and noble,
and crossed so great a sea, in order to diminish
your confidence in me by bringing you an idle tale;
I saw the most famed states of Asia and Greece
daily laying bare their judgments more clearly,
with the intention, if it were permitted, of proceeding
so far presently that they would have no chance to
draw back and repent; I saw Perseus not limiting
himself to the kingdom of Macedonia, seizing some
places by arms, and by influence and kindness
winning over others which could not be subdued
by force; I saw how unjust was the fortune that
caused you, while he was preparing war on you, to
grant him the security of peace, although to me
indeed he seemed to be, not preparing war, but almost
waging it. Abrupolis,[1] your ally and friend, he
expelled from his kingdom; Arthetaurus,[2] the Illyrian,
also your ally and friend, because he had learned of
some written communications from him to you,
he put to death; Eversa and Callicritus[3] the Thebans,
leading men of their state, because they had spoken
too freely against him in the Boeotian council and
had declared that they would report to you what
was going on, he caused to be done away with;
he sent assistance to the Byzantines contrary to the
treaty; he made war on Dolopia; he traversed
Thessaly and Doris with his army, in order that he
might in their civil war aid the worse cause and crush

[2] Cf. Appian, *Bel. Mac.* XI. 296.
[3] The episode seems not to be mentioned elsewhere.

A.U.C. 582

9 affligeret; confudit[1] et miscuit omnia in Thessalia Perrhaebiaque spe novarum tabularum, ut manu debitorum obnoxia[2] sibi optimates opprimeret. 10 Haec cum vobis quiescentibus et patientibus fecerit et concessam sibi Graeciam esse a vobis videat, pro certo habet neminem sibi antequam in Italiam 11 traiecerit, armatum occursurum. Hoc quam vobis tutum aut[3] honestum sit, vos videritis: ego certe mihi turpe esse duxi, prius Persea ad bellum inferendum quam me socium[4] ad praedicendum ut[5] caveretis venire in Italiam. 12 Functus necessario mihi officio, et quodam modo liberata atque exonerata fide mea, quid ultra facere possum quam uti deos deasque precer ut vos et vestrae rei publicae et nobis sociis atque amicis, qui ex vobis pendemus, consulatis?"

XIV. Haec oratio movit patres conscriptos. Ceterum in praesentia nihil, praeterquam fuisse in curia regem, scire quisquam potuit: eo silentio clausa curia erat. Bello denique perfecto, quaeque dicta ab rege quaeque responsa essent emanavere.

2 Persei deinde regis legatis post paucos dies senatus datus est. Ceterum praeoccupatis non auribus magis quam animis ab Eumene rege, omnis et de- 3 fensio[6] et deprecatio legatorum respuebatur; et exasperavit animos ferocia[7] nimia Harpali, qui

[1] confudit *Fr.*: condit V. [2] obnoxia *Fr.*: ocnoxia V.
[3] vobis tutum aut *Fr.*: uobis tum haut V.
[4] me socium *Fr.*: escium V.
[5] praedicendum ut *Fr.*: praedicendisaut V.
[6] et defensio *iteravit* V, *quae verba alia manus del., signa* ∴ ∴ *superscribens.*
[7] ferocia *J. F. Gronovius*: ferociaanimai (*sic*) V.

[1] The aristocratic or pro-Roman parties in the state.

the better[1]; he threw into confusion and turmoil B.C. 172 everything in Thessaly and Perrhaebia by the prospect of abolition of debts,[2] in order that with the band of debtors bound to him he might overthrow the nobility. Since you remained passive and acquiescent while he did this, and he sees that Greece has been surrendered to him by you, he feels assured that before he crosses into Italy no armed man will meet him. How safe or how honourable this is for you is for yourselves to consider; I at least have deemed it to be a disgrace to me that Perseus should come to Italy to bring war before I, your ally, should have come to warn you to be on guard. Having performed my needful task and, so to speak, absolved and acquitted myself of my trust, what more can I do except pray to the gods and the goddesses that you will look after the interests of yourselves and your state, and of us, your allies and friends who depend upon you?"

XIV. This speech made a profound impression upon the conscript Fathers. But at the time no one was allowed to know anything except that the king had been in the senate-house; with such silence was the senate-house closed. Finally, after the war was over, information leaked out as to what the king had said and what response had been made.

Then a few days later an audience before the senate was given to the ambassadors of King Perseus. But the senators' feelings even more than their ears having been prepossessed by King Eumenes, every plea and every excuse of the ambassadors was rejected: and the excessively arrogant demeanour of Harpalus, who was the leader of the embassy,

[2] Cf. Diod. XXIX. xxxvi.

a.u.c. 582

princeps legationis erat. Is velle quidem et laborare dixit regem, ut purganti se nihil hostile dixisse aut fecisse fides habeatur: ceterum si pervicacius causam[1] belli quaeri videat, forti animo defensurum se. Martem communem esse et eventum incertum belli.

Omnibus civitatibus Graeciae atque Asiae curae erat, quid Persei legati, quid Eumenes in senatu egisset; et propter adventum eius quem moturum aliquid rebantur, miserant pleraeque civitates alia[2] in speciem praeferentes legatos. Et legatio Rhodiorum . . . aderat Romae, cuius ferox erat nec falsa dicturus princeps,[3] haud dubius quin Eumenes civitatis quoque suae crimina[4] Persei criminibus iunxisset. Itaque omni modo per patronos hospitesque discept-andi cum rege locum in senatu quaerebat. Quod cum non[5] contigisset, libertate intemperanti[6] invectus in regem, quod Lyciorum gentem adversus Rhodios concitasset graviorque Asiae esset quam Antiochus fuisset, popularem quidem neque Asiae[7] ingratam populis—nam eo quoque iam favor Persei

[1] causam *Fr.*: causam uel causam V.
[2] *Warmington conjectures* alios alia.
[3] et legatio Rhodiorum erat ac Satyrus princeps *Fr.*: et legationis Rhodiorum ferox erat nec falsa simulaturus princeps *Vahlen*: et legatio Rhodiorum aderat Romae, cuius ferox erat nec falsa dicturus princeps *H. J. Mueller*: et legatio rhodiorum erat hac falsa i(*sic*) turus princeps V.
[4] suae crimina *Vahlen*: sua V.
[5] non *add. Duker*: *om.* V.
[6] intemperanti *J. F. Gronovius*: intemperantius V.
[7] quidem neque Asiae *Hartel*: quidem quidem V.

exasperated their minds. He said that the king B.C. 172 really wished and exerted himself that he should be believed when he pled in his defence that he had neither said nor done anything with hostile intent; but if he saw that a pretext for war was being all too eagerly sought, he would defend himself with resolution. Mars, he said, was impartial, and the result of war uncertain.

All the cities of Greece and Asia were interested in what the ambassadors of Perseus and what Eumenes had said in the senate; and by reason of his coming, which they believed would provoke some action, most of the cities had sent ambassadors alleging this or that as to their errands. [And an embassy of the Rhodians was also present in Rome, the leading man in which was insolent, although what he was to say was not devoid of truth];[1] he felt certain that Eumenes had included some charges against their state too, along with his charges against Perseus. And so in every fashion, through their patrons and Roman hosts, the envoy sought the opportunity to argue with the king in the senate. When this did not fall to his lot, assailing the king with unrestrained violence, because he had stirred up the Lycian people against the Rhodians and because he was more oppressive to Asia than Antiochus had been, he delivered a speech which was ingratiating and not displeasing to the peoples of Asia—for the popularity of Perseus had spread even there—but

[1] The supplement in brackets is that of H. J. Müller (see critical note) and is, like the other supplements which have been suggested, based in part upon Appian, *Bel. Mac.* xi. 3 (White, Vol. II, p. 33 of the L.C.L.). The ambassador is not named by Appian.

A.U.C. 582 venerat—orationem habuit, ceterum invisam senatui inutilemque sibi et civitati suae. Eumeni vero conspiratio adversus eum favorem maiorem[1] apud Romanos fecit. Ita omnes ei honores habiti donaque quam[2] amplissima data cum sella curuli atque eburneo scipione.

XV. Legationibus dimissis cum Harpalus, quanta maxima[3] celeritate poterat, regressus in Macedoniam nuntiasset regi, nondum quidem parantes bellum reliquisse se Romanos, sed ita infestos ut facile appareret non dilaturos, et ipse, praeterquam quod et ita credebat futurum, iam etiam volebat, in flore virium se credens esse. Eumeni ante omnes infestus erat; a cuius sanguine ordiens[4] bellum, Euandrum Cretensem, ducem auxiliorum, et Macedonas tres assuetos ministeriis[5] talium facinorum ad caedem regis subornat litterasque eis dat ad Praxo hospitam, principem auctoritate et opibus Delphorum. Satis constabat Eumenem, ut sacrificaret Apollini, Delphos escensurum. Praegressi cum Euandro insidiatores nihil aliud ad peragendum inceptum quam loci opportunitatem, omnia circumeuntes, quaerebant. Escendentibus ad templum a Cirrha, priusquam perveniretur ad frequentia aedificiis loca, maceria erat ab laeva ad[6] semitam paulum extantem a fundamento, qua singuli transirent; dextra pars labe terrae in ali-

[1] maiorem *add. Hertz* : *om.* V.
[2] quam *Fr.* : cuiquam V.
[3] quanta maxima *Muretus* : quantexima V.
[4] ordiens *Fr.* : oriens V.
[5] ministeriis *Fr.* : ministris V. [6] ad *add. Madvig* : a V.

[1] The attacks of Perseus and the Rhodians were regarded by the Romans as concerted.

was offensive to the senate and useless to the Rhodians B.C. 172 and their state. But the conspiracy[1] against Eumenes won for him greater favour with the Romans. And so all honours were conferred upon him and the most generous gifts were bestowed upon him, together with a curule chair and an ivory sceptre.

XV. After the embassies had been dismissed, when Harpalus with all possible speed had returned to Macedonia and reported to the king that he had left the Romans not yet, indeed, preparing for war, but so unfriendly that it was easily evident that they would not try to delay it, then Perseus likewise, not to mention the fact that he believed that this would be the outcome, was now even eager for war, believing that he was at the height of his power. He was more specially incensed at Eumenes; beginning the war with an attempt on his life, he employed Evander the Cretan, a commander of auxiliaries, and three Macedonians who were accustomed to the performance of such crimes, to murder the king, and he gave them a letter to his friend Praxo, a woman high in influence and wealth at Delphi. It was generally known that Eumenes was intending to go up to Delphi to offer sacrifices to Apollo. The plotters, led by Evander, going in advance and carefully reconnoitering the ground, were searching for nothing else than a suitable place at which to accomplish their purpose. As travellers ascend to the temple from Cirrha, before they reach the districts where buildings abound, there was a wall on the left beside a path which stood out only a little distance from the lower courses of the wall, where men could only pass in single file; the right side, in consequence of a land-slide, had fallen away

A.U.C. 582

6 quantum altitudinis derupta[1] erat. Post maceriam se abdiderunt gradibus adstructis, ut ex ea velut e
7 muro tela in praetereuntem conicerent. Primo a mari circumfusa turba amicorum ac satellitum procedebat, deinde extenuabant paulatim angustiae
8 agmen. Ubi ad eum locum ventum est qua singulis eundum erat, primus semitam ingressus Pantaleon, Aetoliae princeps, cum quo institutus regi[2] sermo erat.
9 Tum insidiatores exorti saxa duo ingentia devolvunt, quorum altero caput ictum est regi, altero umerus;
10 sopitusque ex semita procidit[3] in declive, multis super prolapsum iam saxis congestis. Et ceteri quidem, etiam amicorum et satellitum turba,[4] postquam cadentem videre, diffugiunt; Pantaleon contra[5] impavidus mansit ad protegendum regem.

XVI. Latrones, cum brevi circumitu maceriae decurrere ad conficiendum saucium possent, velut perfecta re in iugum Parnasi refugerunt eo cursu ut, cum unus non facile sequendo per invia atque ardua moraretur fugam eorum, ne[6] ex comprenso
2 indicium emanaret, occiderint comitem. Ad corpus regis primo amici, deinde satellites ac servi con-
3 currerunt; tollentes sopitum[7] volnere ac nihil sentientem, vivere tamen ex calore et spiritu remanente in praecordiis senserunt: victurum exigua ac prope
4 nulla spes erat. Quidam ex satellitibus secuti

[1] derupta *Duker*: diruta V.
[2] regi *ed. Vascosana*: regis V.
[3] ex semita procidit *Gilbauer*: exemita procliuit V.
[4] turba *add. Hartel*: *om.* V.
[5] contra *Kreyssig*: constar V.
[6] ne *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[7] sopitum *Fr.*: oppidum V.

to a considerable depth. They concealed themselves B.C. 172
behind the wall, building up steps so that they might hurl their missiles, as from a rampart, upon the king as he passed. At first he approached from the sea surrounded by a crowd of his friends and courtiers, then the narrowness of the road gradually thinned out the line. When they came to that place where they had to walk in single file, the first to enter the path was Pantaleon, a leading citizen of Aetolia, with whom the king had begun a conversation. Then the plotters, springing up, rolled down two huge stones, one of which struck the king's head, the other his shoulder; and being stunned he fell from the path down the slope, and many stones were heaped upon him as he now lay prostrate. And the rest, even the crowd of his friends and courtiers, scattered after they saw his fall; Pantaleon on the other hand courageously remained to defend the king.

XVI. The assassins might have made a short detour around the end of the wall and have run down to kill the wounded man, but, as if their task was completed, they fled toward the ridge of Parnassus with such speed that when one of them, finding it difficult to keep up with the others on the pathless and difficult ground, was delaying their escape, they in order that no information might be got from him in case he were caught, killed him, their companion. First the king's friends, then his courtiers and slaves, gathered around his body; lifting him up, still stunned by the blow and unconscious, they nevertheless, from the warmth and the breath which remained in his chest, perceived that he was alive; there was slight hope—almost no hope at all—that he would recover. Some of the courtiers, following

A.U.C. 582

latronum vestigia, cum usque ad iugum Parnasi nequiquam fatigati pervenissent, re infecta redierunt. 5 Aggressi facinus Macedones ut non [1] inconsulte ita audacter, coeptum nec consulte et timide reliquerunt. 6 Compotem iam sui regem amici postero die deferunt ad navem; inde Corinthum, ab [2] Corintho per Isthmi 7 iugum navibus traductis, Aeginam traiciunt. Ibi adeo secreta eius curatio fuit, admittentibus neminem, 8 ut fama mortuum in Asiam perferret. Attalus quoque celerius quam [3] dignum concordia fraterna erat credidit; nam et cum uxore fratris et praefecto arcis tamquam iam haud dubius regni heres est 9 locutus. Quae postea non fefellere Eumenen; et quamquam dissimulare et tacite habere et [4] pati statuerat, tamen in primo congressu non temperavit, quin uxoris petendae immaturam [5] festinationem fratri obiceret. Romam quoque fama de morte Eumenis perlata est.

XVII. Sub idem tempus C. Valerius ex Graecia, qui legatus [6] ad visendum statum regionis eius speculandaque consilia Persei regis ierat,[7] redit, con-

[1] non *add. Heusinger*: *om.* V.
[2] ab *Kreyssig*: ad V.
[3] celerius quam *Fr.*: ceteriumquam V.
[4] et *Weissenborn*: id V.
[5] immaturam *Weissenborn*: maturam V.
[6] qui legatus *Fr.*: legatus qui V.
[7] ierat *Vahlen*: eiuserat V.

[1] Ships were hauled across the Isthmus on a roadway.

the trail of the murderers, when, wearying themselves in vain, they had reached the ridge of Parnassus, returned without accomplishing anything. The Macedonians, although they planned their crime not injudiciously and boldly, yet abandoned their undertaking injudiciously and cravenly. The next day the king, having recovered consciousness, was carried aboard ship by his friends; thence they proceeded to Corinth and from Corinth, the ships having been drawn over the ridge of the Isthmus,[1] to Aegina. There his treatment was conducted so secretly, no one being admitted to his presence, that the rumour reached Asia that he was dead. Even Attalus believed it more readily than was worthy of their fraternal harmony; for he conferred with his brother's wife and with the commander of the citadel as if he were now beyond doubt heir to the throne. Later on this did not escape the knowledge of Eumenes; and although he decided to ignore it and pass over it in silence and to endure it, he yet at their first meeting did not refrain from reproaching his brother for his excessive haste to woo his wife.[2] To Rome also the report of the death of Eumenes spread. B.C. 172

XVII. About the same time Gaius Valerius, who had gone to Greece as commissioner to investigate the condition of the region and to enquire into the designs of Perseus,[3] returned from thence,

[2] Stratonice had been childless for over sixteen years: she now became pregnant and in due course bore a son, whom Eumenes, according to Polybius (XXX. 27) had not acknowledged at least five years later, but who subsequently succeeded his legal uncle, Attalus II, as Attalus III. (W. S. Ferguson).
[3] Cf. vi. 5 above.

a.u.c. 582

gruentiaque omnia criminibus ab Eumene adlatis
2 referebat. Simul et adduxerat secum Praxo a Delphis, cuius domus receptaculum latronum fuerat, et L. Rammium Brundisinum, qui talis indicii delator erat.
3 Princeps Brundisi Rammius fuit; hospitioque[1] et duces Romanos omnes et legatos, exterarum quoque
4 gentium insignes,[2] praecipue regios, accipiebat. Ex eo notitia ei cum absente Perseo fuerat; litterisque spem amicitiae interioris magnaeque inde fortunae facientibus ad regem profectus brevi perfamiliaris[3] haberi trahique magis quam vellet in arcanos
5 sermones est coeptus. Promissis enim ingentibus praemiis petere institit ab eo rex, quoniam duces omnes legatique Romani hospitio[4] eius uti adsuessent, quibus eorum ipse scripsisset, ut venenum
6 dandum curaret. Cuius scire se comparationem plurimum difficultatis et periculi habere; pluribus consciis comparari; eventu praeterea incerto esse ut aut satis efficacia ad rem peragendam aut[5] tuta ad
7 rem celandam dentur. Se daturum quod[6] nec in dando nec datum ullo signo deprendi[7] posset.
8 Rammius veritus ne, si abnuisset, primus ipse veneni experimentum esset, facturum pollicitus proficiscitur;

[1] hospitioque *Weissenborn*: hospitioquoque V.
[2] insignes *Fr.*: insignisquoque V.
[3] perfamiliaris *Fr.*: perfamiliam V
[4] hospitio *Fr.*: hostio V.
[5] aut *Fr.*: ad V.
[6] quod *Fr.*: que V.
[7] deprendi *Fr.*: defendi V.

and his reports agreed in all respects with the charges B.C. 172
brought by Eumenes. At the same time, too, he had brought with him Praxo from Delphi, whose house had been the shelter of the assassins, and Lucius Rammius of Brundisium, who was the bearer of the following information. Rammius was a prominent citizen of Brundisium, and he entertained hospitably all Romans, both generals and ambassadors, as well as distinguished personages of foreign states and especially members of princely houses. In consequence he had formed an acquaintance with Perseus, though he was far away; and when a letter roused in him the hope of a more intimate friendship and of great prosperity as a result, he went to visit the king and in a short time began to be regarded as his confidant and to be drawn into his secret conferences to a greater degree than he desired. For by the promise of great rewards the king began to ask of him, since all the Roman generals and ambassadors were accustomed to avail themselves of his hospitality, that he should undertake to poison those about whom Perseus should communicate with him by letter. The king said that he was aware that to obtain poison involved a great deal of trouble and risk; that it was prepared with too many persons sharing in the secret; moreover, that its administration was uncertain, whether doses were sufficiently powerful to accomplish the purpose or sufficiently safe to keep the act concealed. He promised that he would supply a poison which could not be detected by any symptom, either while being given or after it was given. Rammius, fearing that if he refused he himself would be the first to be a test of the poison, promised that he would do as the king

A.U.C. 582

nec Brundisium ante redire quam convento C. Valerio legato, qui circa Chalcidem esse dicebatur,
9 voluit. Ad eum primum indicio delato, iussu eius[1] Romam simul venit. Introductus in curiam quae acta erant exposuit.

XVIII. Haec ad ea quae ab Eumene delata erant accessere, quo maturius hostis Perseus iudicaretur, quippe quem non iustum modo apparare[2] bellum regio animo, sed per omnia clandestina grassari scelera latrociniorum ac veneficiorum cernebant.
2 Belli administratio ad novos consules reiecta est; in praesentia tamen Cn. Sicinium praetorem, cuius inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictio erat, scribere
3 milites placuit, qui Brundisium ducti[3] primo quoque tempore Apolloniam in Epirum traicerentur ad occupandas maritimas urbes, ubi consul cui provincia Macedonia obvenisset, classem appellere tuto et
4 copias per commodum exponere posset. Eumenes, aliquamdiu Aeginae retentus periculosa et difficili curatione, cum primum tuto potuit, profectus Pergamum, praeter pristinum odium recenti etiam scelere
5 Persei stimulante summa[4] vi parabat bellum. Legati eo ab Roma gratulantes[5] quod e tanto periculo evasisset venerunt.
6 Cum Macedonicum bellum in annum dilatum esset, ceteris praetoribus iam in provincias profectis, M.

[1] eius *Fr.*: eiussu V.
[2] apparare *Fr.*: appellare V.
[3] ducti *Fr.*: ducit V.
[4] summa *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] gratulantes *Fr.*: stimulantes V.

wished and departed; nor did he wish to return B.C. 172 to Brundisium until he had met Gaius Valerius, who was said to be in the neighbourhood of Chalcis. Having first given him this information, by the order of Valerius he came with him to Rome. Being introduced into the senate, he reported what had occurred.

XVIII. These revelations, added to those which Eumenes had given, brought to pass a speedier declaration that Perseus was an enemy, since they saw that he was not merely preparing a regular war, as a king should, but was also perpetrating crimes of brigandage and poisoning by all sorts of secret means. The conduct of the war was referred to the next consuls; for the present however, it was decided that Gnaeus Sicinius, the praetor who exercised jurisdiction over cases between citizens and aliens, should enlist troops who should be conducted as rapidly as possible to Brundisium and thence be transported to Apollonia in Epirus as garrisons for the cities on the coast, where the consul to whose lot the province of Macedonia should have fallen might safely put in with his fleet and conveniently disembark his troops. Eumenes, who had been detained for some time at Aegina by a dangerous and difficult course of treatment, setting out for Pergamum as soon as he could safely, was preparing for war with the greatest energy, this fresh attack by Perseus, in addition to his former hatred, urging him on. Ambassadors from Rome came there bringing congratulations because he had escaped from so great a danger.

When the Macedonian war had been put off for a year and the other praetors had already set out for

A.U.C. 582

Iunius et Sp. Lucretius, quibus Hispaniae provinciae obvenerant, fatigantes [1] saepe idem petendo senatum, tandem pervicerunt ut supplementum sibi ad exercitum daretur: tria milia peditum, centum et quin-
7 quaginta equites in Romanas legiones scribere,[2] in socialem exercitum quinque milia peditum et trecentos equites imperare sociis iussi. Hoc copiarum in Hispanias cum praetoribus novis portatum est.

XIX. Eodem anno, quia per recognitionem [3] Postumi consulis magna pars agri Campani, quem privati sine discrimine passim possederant, recuperata in publicum erat, M. Lucretius tribunus plebis promulgavit ut agrum Campanum censores fruendum
2 locarent, quod factum tot annis post [4] captam Capuam non fuerat, ut in vacuo vagaretur cupiditas privatorum.

3 Cum in [5] expectatione senatus esset bello etsi non indicto, tamen iam decreto, qui regum suam, qui Persei [6] secuturi amicitiam essent, legati Ariarathis puerum filium regis secum adducentes Romam
4 venerunt; quorum oratio fuit regem educendum filium Romam misisse, ut iam inde a puero assuesceret
5 moribus Romanis hominibusque. Petere ut eum non sub hospitum modo privatorum custodia, sed publicae
6 etiam curae ac velut tutelae vellent esse. Et regis [7]

[1] fatigantes *Kreyssig*: fatigatis V.
[2] scribere *add. Crévier*: *om.* V.
[3] recognitionem *Fr.*: secognitionem V.
[4] post *Fr.*: non post V.
[5] in *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[6] qui Persei *Madvig*: perseiqui V.
[7] regis *Fr.*: regem et V.

[1] Cf. i. 6 above and the note.

their provinces, Marcus Junius and Spurius Lucretius, B.C. 172 to whose lots the Spanish provinces had fallen, after wearying the senate again and again by the same request, at length succeeded in having reinforcements voted to them for the army: they were directed to enlist three thousand infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry for the Roman legions, and for the allied army five thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. These troops were transported to the two Spains with the new praetors.

XIX. This same year, since as a result of the investigation conducted by the consul Postumius a great part of the Campanian land, which private individuals had occupied without making due distinction of boundaries, had been recovered for the state, Marcus Lucretius, tribune of the people, published a measure providing that the censors should issue leases for the use of the Campanian land, which had not been done for so many years after the fall of Capua that the greed of private citizens had a free field in which to wander.[1]

While the senate was in a state of expectancy (the war having already been determined upon even though not formally declared) as to which kings would follow their friendship and which that of Perseus, ambassadors from King Ariarathes came to Rome, bringing with them his young son: their message was that the king sent his son to Rome to be brought up, to the end that even from boyhood he might be accustomed to Roman manners and men. He asked the Romans to receive him, not only under the care of citizens of private station who were his hosts, but as it were under the care and guardianship of the state. The king's embassy was pleasing to

A.U.C. 582

legatio grata senatui fuit; decreverunt ut Cn. Sicinius praetor aedes instruendas[1] locaret ubi filius regis comitesque eius habitare recte[2] possent. Et Thracum legatis, Maedis[3] Cepnatisque et Astis[4] societatem amicitiamque petentibus et quod petebant datum est, et munera binum[5] milium aeris[6] in
7 singulos missa. Hos utique populos, quod ab tergo Macedoniae Thracia esset, adsumptos in societatem gaudebant. Sed ut in Asia quoque et insulis explorata omnia essent, Ti. Claudium Neronem M.
8 Decimium legatos miserunt. Adire eos Cretam et Rhodum iusserunt, simul renovare amicitiam, simul speculari, num sollicitati animi sociorum ab rege Perseo essent.

XX. In suspensa civitate ad expectationem novi belli, nocturna tempestate columna rostrata in Capitolio bello Punico priore posita ob victoriam M. Aemilii[7] consulis, cui collega Ser. Fulvius fuit, tota ad imum fulmine discussa est. Ea res prodigii loco
2 habita ad senatum relata est; patres et ad[8] haruspices
3 referri et decemviros adire libros iusserunt. Decemviri lustrandum oppidum, supplicationem obsecra-

[1] instruendas *Lentz*: instructas V.
[2] recte *Madvig*: rec V.
[3] Maedis *Madvig*: sedis V.
[4] Astis *H. J. Mueller*: satis V.
[5] binum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[6] aeris *Duker*: aeris summae V.
[7] priore . . . Aemilii *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[8] ad *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] These states were among the Thracian peoples who were not under Macedonian control. Since they lay to the east of Macedonia, they were, from the Roman standpoint, in its rear.

the Senate; they decreed that Gnaeus Sicinius the B.C. 172 praetor should contract for the rental of a house where the prince and his retinue could suitably reside. When ambassadors of the Thracians, the Maedi, the Cepnati, and the Asti,[1] sought an alliance and friendship, their request was granted and in addition gifts of two thousand *asses* were presented to each. The Romans were glad that these peoples particularly had joined the alliance because Thrace lay in the rear of Macedonia. But, in order to have full information regarding Asia and the islands also, they sent Tiberius Claudius Nero and Marcus Decimius as commissioners. The senate directed them to visit Crete and Rhodes, partly to renew friendships, partly to ascertain whether the sympathies of the allies had been excited by King Perseus.

XX. In a city which was at the highest pitch of excitement about the new war, during a storm at night the *columna rostrata*[2] which had been set up on the Capitoline in the first Punic war in honour of the victory of the consul Marcus Aemilius, whose colleague was Servius Fulvius, was completely destroyed by lightning. This event was regarded as a prodigy and was referred to the senate; the Fathers ordered that the matter should be referred to the *haruspices* and, moreover, that the decemvirs should consult the Books. The decemvirs reported back that the city should be purified, that a period of supplication and prayer should be held and that

[2] This column, which was adorned with the beaks (*rostra*) of captured ships, dated from the year 254 B.C. The similar column of Duilius, a copy of which is preserved, stood in the Forum. There seems to be no further mention of the *columna Aemilia*.

A.U.C. 582

tionemque habendam, victimis[1] maioribus sacrificandum et in Capitolio Romae et in Campania ad Minervae promunturium renuntiarunt; ludos per decem dies Iovi optimo maximo primo quoque die faciendos. Ea omnia cum cura facta. Haruspices in bonum versurum id prodigium, prolationemque finium et interitum perduellium portendi responderunt, quod ex hostibus spolia fuissent ea rostra, quae tempestas disiecisset.[2] Accesserunt quae cumularent religiones animis: Saturniae nuntiatum erat sanguine per triduum in oppido pluvisse; Calatiae asinum tripedem natum, et taurum cum quinque vaccis uno ictu fulminis[3] exanimatos; Auximi terra pluvisse. Horum quoque prodigiorum causa res divinae factae et supplicatio unum diem feriaeque habitae.

XXI. Consules ad id tempus in provinciam non exierant, quia neque, uti de M. Popilio referrent senatui obsequebantur, et nihil aliud decernere prius statutum patribus erat. Aucta etiam invidia est Popili litteris[4] quibus iterum cum Statellatibus Liguribus proconsul pugnasse se scripsit ac sex milia eorum occidisse; propter cuius iniuriam belli ceteri quoque Ligurum populi ad arma ierunt. Tum vero non absens modo Popilius, qui deditis contra ius ac fas[5] bellum intulisset et[6] pacatos ad rebellandum[7]

[1] victimis *Fr.*: uictissimus oppidis V.
[2] disiecisset *Fr.*: diiecisset V.
[3] fulminis *Fr.*: fluminis V.
[4] litteris *Novák*: litteris eius V.
[5] fas *Fr.*: tam V.
[6] et *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[7] rebellandum *Gruter*: rebellinum V.

[1] The narrative continues from x. 15 above.

sacrifices of full-grown victims should be offered both on the Capitoline at Rome and in Campania at the promontory of Minerva; further, that at the earliest possible moment games for ten days should be celebrated in honour of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. All these directions were scrupulously obeyed. The *haruspices* pronounced that this omen would turn out for the best, and that an extension of frontiers and the destruction of the enemy were foretold, because those beaks which the storm had overthrown had been spoils taken from the enemy. Other occurrences also increased their concern to appease the gods: news had been brought that at Saturnia there were showers of blood in the town on three successive days; that at Calatia an ass with three feet was born and a bull with five cows was killed by a single bolt of lightning; that at Auximium a shower of earth had fallen. By reason of these prodigies also sacrifices were offered and a day of prayer and a festival were celebrated. B.C. 172

XXI. The consuls up to this time had not set out to their province[1] because they would not yield to the senate in passing a decree regarding Marcus Popilius, and the Fathers were determined to allow no other decree to have precedence over it. The ill-will against Popilius was increased again by dispatches in which he reported that as proconsul he had fought a second time with the Ligurian Statellates and had killed six thousand of them; because of the injustice done in this war the rest of the Ligurian peoples also took up arms. Then indeed not the absent Popilius alone was reproached in the senate because he had made war on surrendered tribes contrary to justice and right, and had roused

A.U.C. 582

incitasset, sed consules, quod non exirent in provin-
4 ciam, in senatu increpiti. Hoc consensu patrum accensi M. Marcius Sermo et Q. Marcius Scilla, tribuni plebis, et consulibus multam se dicturos nisi in provinciam exirent denuntiarunt, et rogationem, quam de Liguribus deditis promulgare in animo
5 haberent, in senatu recitarunt. Sanciebatur ut qui ex Statellis deditis in libertatem restitutus ante kal. Sextiles primas non esset, cuius dolo malo is in servitutem venisset, ut iuratus senatus decerneret, qui eam rem quaereret animadverteretque. Ex auctoritate deinde senatus eam rogationem promul-
6 garunt. Priusquam proficiscerentur consules, C. Cicereio, praetori [1] prioris anni, ad aedem Bellonae
7 senatus datus est. Is expositis quas in Corsica res gessisset postulatoque frustra [2] triumpho, in monte Albano, quod iam in morem venerat, ut sine publica
8 auctoritate fieret, triumphavit. Rogationem Marciam de Liguribus magno consensu plebes scivit iussitque.[3] Ex eo plebiscito C. Licinius praetor consuluit senatum, quem quaerere ea rogatione vellet. Patres ipsum eum quaerere iusserunt.

[1] praetori *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.
[2] frustra *Fr.* : frus V.
[3] plebes scivit iussitque *Fr.* : plebis ciuitati iussitique (*sic*) V.

[1] Cf. XXVI. xxxiii. 14, XXX. xl. 12. On each of these occasions the matter seems to have been referred by the popular assembly to the senate "with power"; since the senate was in theory only an advisory body (and had on occasion been hostile to the commons), the oath perhaps was meant to bind the senators to the utmost scrupulousness and impartiality in making these delegated and final decisions.
[2] Cf. vii. 1–2 above.
[3] This statement cannot be verified from Livy's narrative,

pacified people to rebellion, but the consuls as well, B.C. 172
because they did not go to their province. Prompted by this harmony among the Fathers, Marcus Marcius Sermo and Quintus Marcius Scilla, tribunes of the people, first proclaimed that they would lay a fine upon the consuls if they should not go to their provinces, and then read in the senate the motion which they proposed to offer regarding the surrendered Ligurians. It was proposed that in case anyone of the surrendered Statellans had not been restored to liberty before the Kalends of August following, the senate should decree on oath [1] what officials should investigate this matter and punish the person by whose malice the aforesaid person had become a slave. Then, on the authorization of the senate, they published this decree. Before the consuls set out, an audience before the senate was granted to Gaius Cicereius, praetor of the preceding year, in the temple of Bellona. When he had set forth his achievements in Corsica [2] and had vainly demanded a triumph, he celebrated his triumph on the Alban Mount, which had now become customary [3] in order to permit the celebration of a triumph without the authorization of the state. The plebeian assembly voted and ordered the Marcian proposal regarding the Ligurians with complete unanimity. In accordance with this legislation the praetor Gaius Licinius consulted the senate as to whom they would choose to investigate under that bill. The Fathers ordered Licinius himself to conduct the investigation.

in which no triumph *in monte Albano* has been mentioned since XXXIII. xxiii. 8. In that passage, the triumphing consul cites the precedent of "many famous men," but Livy mentions only one, XXVI. xxi.

A.U.C. 582

XXII. Tum demum consules in provinciam profecti
2 sunt exercitumque a M. Popilio acceperunt.[1] Neque
tamen M. Popilius reverti Romam audebat, ne
causam diceret adverso senatu, infestiore populo,
apud praetorem, qui de quaestione in se proposita[2]
3 senatum consuluisset. Huic detractationi[3] eius
tribuni plebis alterius rogationis denuntiatione
occurrerunt ut, si non ante idus Novembres in urbem
Romam introisset, de absente eo C. Licinius statueret
4 ac iudicaret. Hoc tractus vinculo cum redisset,
5 ingenti cum invidia in senatum venit. Ibi cum
laceratus iurgiis multorum esset, senatus con-
sultum factum est ut qui Ligurum post Q. Fulvium[4]
L. Manlium consules hostes non fuissent, ut eos C.
Licinius Cn. Sicinius praetores in libertatem restitu-
endos curarent, agrumque iis trans Padum consul C.
6 Popilius daret. Multa milia hominum hoc senatus
consulto restituta in libertatem, transductisque Padum
7 ager est assignatus. M. Popilius rogatione Marcia
bis apud C. Licinium causam dixit; tertio praetor,
gratia consulis absentis et Popiliae[5] familiae precibus
victus, idibus[6] Martiis adesse reum iussit, quo die
novi magistratus inituri erant honorem, ne diceret ius

[1] acceperunt *J. F. Gronovius*: ceperunt V.
[2] proposita *Drakenborch*: positam V.
[3] detractationi *Bekker*: detractioni V.
[4] post Q. Fulvium *Fr.*: postquam fluuium V.
[5] Popiliae *Fr.*: popillio V.
[6] victus idibus *Fr.*: uictulaudibus V.

[1] B.C. 179, cf. XL. xliii. 4. The senate reversed itself by this action; previously it had granted triumphs, XL. lix. 1–3, XLI. xiii. 6–8, but now implied that these campaigns had been irregular.

XXII. Then at last the consuls set out for their B.C. 172
province and took over the army from Marcus
Popilius. The ex-consul, however, did not dare to
return to Rome for fear of having to stand his trial,
in the face of an unfriendly senate and still more hos-
tile commons, before the praetor who had put to the
senate the question of the investigation directed
against him. This reluctance of his was met by
the threat of another decree sponsored by the
tribunes of the people, to the effect that if Popilius
did not enter Rome before the thirteenth of November,
Gaius Licinius was to determine the facts and pass
judgment in his absence. When he returned,
dragged home by this fetter, he came before the senate
amid great ill-feeling. After he had been assailed
there by the attacks of many, a resolution of the sen-
ate was passed that those Ligurians who had not
been enemies since the consulship of Quintus
Fulvius and Lucius Manlius[1] should be restored to
freedom under the supervision of the praetors Gaius
Licinius and Gnaeus Sicinius, and should be given
land across the Po by the consul Gaius Popilius.
Many thousand persons were restored to freedom
by this resolution of the senate, and after they had
been led across the Po, land was allotted to them.
Marcus Popilius twice stood trial before Gaius Licinius
in accordance with the Marcian decree;[2] on the third
occasion the praetor, overcome by the influence of the
absent consul and the entreaties of the house of Popil-
ius, ordered the defendant to appear on the fifteenth of
March, the day on which the new magistrates were
to enter upon their offices, so that Licinius himself,

[2] Cf. above, xxi. 8. Normal proceedure required three days in court for each trial.

A.U.C. 582

8 qui privatus futurus esset. Ita rogatio de Liguribus arte fallaci elusa est.

XXIII. Legati Carthaginienses eo tempore Romae erant et Gulussa, filius Masinissae. Inter eos 2 magnae contentiones in senatu fuere. Carthaginienses querebantur, praeter agrum de quo ante legati ab Roma, qui [1] re praesenti cognoscerent, missi essent, amplius septuaginta oppida castellaque agri Carthaginiensis biennio proximo Masinissam vi [2] atque armis possedisse: id illi, cui nihil pensi sit, facile 3 esse. Carthaginienses foedere illigatos silere; pro- 4 hiberi enim extra fines [3] efferre arma; quamquam sciant in suis finibus, si inde Numidas pellerent,[4] se gesturos bellum, illo haud ambiguo capite foederis deterreri quo diserte vetentur cum sociis populi 5 Romani bellum gerere. Sed iam ultra superbiam crudelitatemque et avaritiam eius non pati posse Carthaginienses. Missos esse, se [5] qui orarent senatum, ut 6 trium harum rerum unam ab se impetrari sinerent: ut vel ex aequo inter regem [6] socium populumque Carthaginiensem [7] quid cuiusque esset disceptarent; vel permitterent Carthaginiensibus ut adversus iniusta

[1] in *add. Sigonius*: *om.* V.
[2] vi *Fr.*: queui V.
[3] extrafines *bis scrip.* V.
[4] pellerent *Fr.*: pellent V.
[5] se *add. H. J. Mueller*: *om.* V.
[6] inter regem *Madvig*: in V.
[7] Carthaginiensem *add. H. J. Mueller*: *om.* V.

[1] On the disputes between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, perhaps including this one, cf. XL. xvii. 1–6, xxxiv. 14, Polybius XXXI. 21, and Appian, *Punic Wars*, VIII. x. Polybius (*loc. cit.*) says of previous disputes between these parties that "the Carthaginians always came off second best at Rome, not because they had no right on their side, but because the judges were convinced that it was in their own interest to decide against them" (tr. Paton, L.C.L.).

since he would be a private citizen, need not pass judgment. Thus the decree about the Ligurians was evaded by trickery. B.C. 172

XXIII. Carthaginian ambassadors were at Rome at that time, and also Gulussa, the son of Masinissa. Between these, great disputes arose before the senate. The Carthaginians complained that, besides the land about which envoys from Rome had previously been sent [1] to review the situation on the ground, more than seventy towns and forts in Carthaginian territory had been siezed by force of arms during the past two years by Masinissa; this was a simple matter for him, since he was wholly reckless. The Carthaginians, enmeshed in the treaty, had kept quiet, said the envoys, for they were forbidden to campaign beyond their own boundaries; [2] for, even though they knew that if they were to drive out the Numidians, they would be fighting within their boundaries, they were discouraged by that quite definite article of the treaty by which they were expressly forbidden to wage war against allies of the Roman people.[3] But now the Carthaginians could no longer endure Masinissa's arrogance, cruelty and greed. They, the envoys, had been sent to beg the senate to grant one of the following three requests: either that the Romans should impartially draw the line between the possessions of their royal ally and those of the Carthaginian people; or that they should permit the Carthaginians to protect themselves by a right-

[2] Cf. XXX. xxxvii. 4, Polybius XV. 18. 4.
[3] One of the conditions of peace which had been imposed upon the Carthaginians by Scipio had been, according to Appian, *Punic Wars*, VIII. 54, μήτε Μασσανάσσῃ μήτε ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ πολεμεῖν, cf. below, xxv. 4.

a.u.c. 582

arma pio iustoque se tutarentur bello; vel ad extremum, si gratia plus quam veritas apud eos valeret, semel statuerent, quid donatum ex alieno
7 Masinissae vellent. Modestius certe daturos eos et se[1] scituros, quid dedissent; ipsum[2] nullum[3] praeterquam suae libidinis arbitrio finem[4] facturum.
8 Horum si nihil impetrarent, et aliquod suum post datam[5] a P. Scipione pacem delictum esset, ipsi
9 potius animadverterent in se. Tutam servitutem se[6] sub dominis Romanis quam libertatem expositam
10 ad iniurias Masinissae malle; perire denique[7] semel ipsis satius esse quam sub acerbissimi[8] carnificis arbitrio spiritum ducere. Sub haec dicta lacrimantes procubuerunt stratique humi non sibi magis misericordiam quam regi[9] invidiam conciliarunt.[10]

XXIV. Interrogari Gulussam placuit quid ad ea[11] responderet, aut, si prius mallet expromere, super
2 qua re Romam[12] venisset. Gulussa neque sibi facile esse dixit de iis rebus agere de quibus nihil mandati a patre haberet, neque patri facile fuisse mandare, cum Carthaginienses nec, de qua re acturi essent, nec omnino ituros se Romam indicaverint.
3 In aede Aesculapi clandestinum eos per aliquot noctes consilium principum habuisse, unde nihil

[1] se *add. Hartel*: *om.* V.
[2] ipsum *Fr.*: quid ipsum V.
[3] nullum *Fr.*: nullam V.
[4] finem *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] aliquod . . . datam *Fr.*: aliquam . . . datum V.
[6] servitutem se *Fr.*: iuuentutem et V.
[7] denique *Vahlen*: neque V.
[8] acerbissimi *Fr.*: aceruissimo V.
[9] quam regi *Fr.*: quereis V.
[10] invidiam conciliaverunt *add. Novák*: *om.* V.
[11] ea *Fr.*: eas V. [12] re Romam *Fr.*: repraeromam V.

eous and proper war against unjust invasion; or, B.C. 172 as a last resort, if favouritism outweighed truth with the Romans, that they should decide once and for all what gift of the possessions of others they wished to be given to Masinissa; the Romans would surely be more moderate in their giving, and the Carthaginians would know what they had given; for the Numidian himself would set no limit except in accordance with his own pleasure. If they were granted none of these requests, and some fault had been incurred by them since the peace granted them by Publius Scipio, let the Romans rather inflict punishment upon them. They preferred a safe slavery under Roman masters to a freedom exposed to the injustices of Masinissa; lastly, it was better for them to perish once than to drag out their existence at the whim of a most bitter torturer. With this speech they prostrated themselves in tears, and as they couched on the ground won as much ill-feeling against the king as pity for themselves.

XXIV. The senate voted to ask Gulussa what he would reply to these charges, or, if he preferred to explain this first, on what business he had come to Rome. Gulussa replied that it was not easy for him to discuss matters on which he had no instructions from his father, nor had it been easy for his father to give instructions, inasmuch as the Carthaginians had not given notice as to what they intended to discuss, or even that they were going to Rome in the first place. They had held a secret council of the leading men in the temple of Aesculapius[1] for several

[1] Aesculapius is the Graeco-Roman equivalent of the Carthaginian god Esmun; for another alleged secret conference in this temple, cf. XLI. xxii. 2.

A.U.C. 582

emanasse[1] praeterquam[2] legatos occultis cum mandatis Romam mitti. Eam causam fuisse patri mittendi se Romam, qui deprecaretur senatum ne quid communibus inimicis criminantibus se crederent,[3] quem ob nullam aliam causam nisi propter constantem fidem erga populum Romanum odissent. His utrimque auditis senatus, de postulatis Carthaginiensium consultus responderi ita iussit: Gulussam placere extemplo in Numidiam proficisci et nuntiare patri ut de iis de quibus Carthaginienses querantur legatos quam primum ad senatum mittat denuntietque Carthaginiensibus, ut ad disceptandum veniant. Se alia quae[4] possent Masinissae honoris causa et fecisse et facturos esse; ius gratiae non dare. Agrum qua cuiusque sit possideri velle, nec novos statuere fines, sed veteres observare in animo habere. Carthaginiensibus victis se et urbem et agros concessisse, non ut in pace eriperent per iniuriam, quae iure belli non ademissent.[5] Ita regulus Carthaginiensesque dimissi. Munera ex instituto data utrisque aliaque hospitalia comiter conservata.

XXV. Sub idem tempus Cn. Servilius Caepio Ap. Claudius Cento T. Annius Luscus legati ad res

[1] nihil emanasse *add. Drakenborch*: *om.* V.
[2] praeterquam *Clericus*: praeterea V.
[3] crederent *Fr.*: Romam V.
[4] alia quae *Weissenborn*: aliquem V.
[5] ademissent *Fr.*: admisissent V.

[1] By its presiding officer, the City Praetor.

nights, about which no news had leaked out except that envoys with secret instructions were being sent to Rome. This had been the occasion of his father's sending him to Rome, in order that he might beg the senate not to believe the enemies of both peoples when they brought charges against Masinissa, whom they hated for no other reason than his unwavering loyalty toward the Roman people. After these addresses from both parties, the senate, when questioned[1] on the subject of the requests of the Carthaginians, ordered the following answer to be given: It was the decision of the senate that Gulussa should depart at once for Numidia and report to his father that he should send envoys as soon as possible to the senate to answer the complaints of the Carthaginians, and that he should announce this to the Carthaginians, so that they might come to argue the matter. The senate had done and would do whatever it could to honour Masinissa, but justice it did not hand over to favouritism. It wished land to be in the possession of the rightful owner, and its purpose was not to set new boundaries, but to maintain the old. After conquering the Carthaginians, the Romans had granted them both their city and their territory, not in order to rob them unjustly in peace of what they had not taken under the laws of war. With this reply the prince and the Carthaginians were dismissed. Gifts were given to both embassies according to custom[2] and the other duties of hospitality were courteously observed.

B.C. 172

XXV. About the same time there returned Gnaeus Servilius Caepio, Appius Claudius Cento and Titus Annius Luscus, the envoys sent to Macedonia to

[2] Cf. above, vi. 11, and the note.

A.U.C. 582

repetendas in Macedoniam renuntiandamque amici-
2 tiam regi missi redierunt; qui iam sua sponte infestum
Persei senatum insuper accenderunt, relatis ordine
quae vidissent quaeque audissent: vidisse se per
omnes urbes Macedonum summa vi parari bellum.
3 Cum ad regem pervenissent, per multos dies con-
veniendi eius potestatem non factam; postremo,
cum desperato iam colloquio profecti essent, tum
demum se ex itinere revocatos et ad eum introductos
4 esse. Suae orationis summam fuisse: foedus cum
Philippo ictum esse,[1] cum ipso eo post mortem
patris renovatum, in quo diserte prohiberi eum extra
fines arma efferre, prohiberi socios populi Romani
5 lacessere bello. Exposita deinde ab se ordine,
quae ipsi nuper in senatu Eumenen vera omnia
6 et comperta referentem audissent. Samothracae
praeterea per multos dies occultum consilium cum
7 legationibus civitatium Asiae regem habuisse. Pro
his iniuriis satisfieri senatum aequum censere,
reddique sibi res sociisque suis quas contra ius
8 foederis habeat. Regem ad ea primo accensum ira
inclementer locutum, avaritiam superbiamque
Romanis obicientem frementemque [2] quod alii super

[1] esse cum *Madvig*: secum V.
[2] frementemque *Hertz*: frequentem V.

[1] A traditional phrase for the first step in breaking off relations and declaring war; for the traditional practice of early Rome of which this is a reminiscence cf. I. xxxii. 5–13; on the revised practice of the times here under discussion cf. XXXVI. iii. 7–12.

[2] The following description of Perseus' attitude does not agree with Livy's account of his diplomacy later (below, chapters xxxvi and xxxix). We may suspect that the latter comes from Polybius, and is more accurate; the account here,

demand reparations [1] and denounce the treaty of B.C. 172
friendship with King Perseus. These envoys inflamed
the hostility which the senate had felt of its own accord
toward Perseus by telling, one after another, the
things which they had seen and heard; they had seen,
they said, preparations for war going forward with
the utmost vigour through all Macedonian cities.
When they had come to the court, for many days
an opportunity of meeting the king was denied them;
finally, when, having actually despaired of a con-
ference, they had departed, then at last they had been
recalled from their journey and brought before him.
The gist of their speech had been as follows: a
treaty had been made with Philip, and renewed
with Perseus himself after his father's death, in
which he was explicitly forbidden to lead his army
beyond his own territory, and also forbidden to assail
in war the allies of the Roman people. Next the
envoys had explained in detail the whole series of
ascertained facts which the Fathers had recently
heard Eumenes recount in the senate. Moreover,
the king had held at Samothrace for many days a
secret conference with embassies from the states of
Asia. For these violations, the envoys informed
the king, the senate thought it right that reparation
be made, and that possessions which the king held
contrary to the regulations of the treaty be returned
to the Romans and their allies. The king [2] had at
first replied to these statements ungraciously,
being inflamed with anger, had charged the Romans
with greed and arrogance, and had yelled that em-

the substance of which appears also in Appian, *Macedonian Wars*, IX. xi, may be derived from some intensely Roman writer, who wanted to justify the forcing of the war by Rome.

A.U.C. 582

alios legati venirent speculatum[1] dicta factaque sua, quod se ad nutum imperiumque eorum omnia
9 dicere ac facere aequum censerent; postremo multum ac diu vociferatum reverti postero die iussisse:
10 scriptum se responsum dare velle. Tum ita sibi scriptum traditum esse: foedus cum patre ictum ad se nihil pertinere; id se renovari, non quia probaret sed quia in nova possessione regni patienda
11 omnia essent, passum. Novum foedus si[2] secum facere vellent, convenire prius de condicionibus debere; si in animum inducerent,[3] ut ex aequo foedus fieret, et se visurum quid sibi faciendum esset, et illos credere e re publica[4] consulturos.
12 Atque ita se proripuisse, et summoveri e regia omnes coeptos. Tum[5] se amicitiam et societatem renuntiasse.[6] Qua voce eum accensum restitisse atque voce clara denuntiasse sibi ut triduo regni sui decederent
13 finibus. Ita se profectos; nec sibi aut manentibus aut abeuntibus[7] quidquam hospitaliter aut benigne factum.

14 Thessali deinde Aetolique legati auditi. Senatui, ut scirent quam primum quibus ducibus usura res publica esset, litteras mitti consulibus placuit ut uter eorum posset[8] Romam ad magistratus creandos veniret.

XXVI. Nihil magnopere quod memorari attineat,

[1] speculatum *Kreyssig*: speculati V.
[2] novum foedus si *Kreyssig*: nouo foedus sęi (*sic*) V.
[3] inducerent *Fr.*: inducere V.
[4] credere e re publica *Madvig*: crede re p(*sic*) V.
[5] tum *Fr.*: cum V.
[6] renuntiasse *Fr.*: senuntiasse V.
[7] manentibus aut abeuntibus *Madvig*: manent ibi V.
[8] posset *J. F. Gronovius*: esset V.

bassies kept coming one after another to spy upon B.C. 172
his words and actions, because they thought it right that he should do and say everything at their beck and call; finally, after shouting a long wordy harangue, he had ordered them to return the next day, since he wished to give them a reply in writing. Then the following written statement had been given them: the treaty made with Perseus' father was in no way binding on him; he had endured its renewal, not because he approved of it, but because immediately on assuming the kingship he had had to endure anything. If the Romans wished to make a new treaty with him, some agreement as to terms should first be reached; if they could bring themselves to make a treaty on terms of equality, he for his part would see what he should do and they for theirs, he supposed, would take care of the interests of their state. After delivering this message, Perseus had begun to hurry out, and the dismissal of everyone from the palace had begun. Thereupon the envoys had denounced the friendship and alliance. Angered at this utterance, Perseus had stopped and in a loud voice had enjoined upon them to leave the borders of his realm within three days. Accordingly they had set out; no sign of hospitality or courtesy had been shown them during their stay or as they departed.

Next the envoys of the Thessalians and Aetolians were heard. In order that the senate might know as soon as possible what military commanders the state was to use, it was voted that dispatches be sent to the consuls to request that whichever of them could do so should come to Rome for the election of magistrates.

XXVI. The consuls had accomplished for the state

a.u.c. 582

rei publicae eo anno consules gesserant. Magis e re publica visum erat comprimi ac sedari exasperatos Ligures.

2 Cum Macedonicum bellum expectaretur, Gentium quoque, Illyriorum regem, suspectum Issaei[1] legati fecerunt, simul questi fines suos eum depopulatum,[2] simul nuntiantes uno animo vivere Macedonum atque Illyriorum regem; communi consilio parare 3 Romanis bellum; et specie legatorum Illyrios speculatores Romae esse Perse auctore missos ut quid 4 ageretur, scirent. Illyrii vocati in senatum; qui cum legatos se esse missos ab rege dicerent ad purg- 5 anda crimina, si qua de rege Issaei deferrent,[3] quaesitum est, quid ita non adissent magistratum, ut ex instituto loca, lautia acciperent, sciretur denique venisse eos et super qua re venissent?[4] Haesitantibus in responso,[5] ut curia excederent 6 dictum; responsum tamquam legatis qui ut[6] adirent senatum non postulassent, dari non placuit; mittendosque ad regem legatos censuerunt qui nuntiarent quid[7] socii quererentur; senatum existimare non aequum eum facere qui ab sociis 7 suis non abstineret iniuriam. In hanc legationem missi A. Terentius Varro, C. Plaetorius, C. Cicereius.

Ex Asia qui circa socios reges missi erant redierunt

[1] Issaei *Madvig*: esse V.
[2] q.f.s.e.d. *Madvig*: quaestione suo secundo populatum V.
[3] d.r.I.d. *Madvig*: deregessisse different V.
[4] s.q.r.u. *Fr.*: super de re uenisse V.
[5] in responso *Fr.*: inrebeusponso V.
[6] qui ut *Madvig*: ut qui V.
[7] quid *Madvig*: quis V.

[1] Gentius was not in fact definitely attached to Perseus, cf. below, xxix. 11 and xxxvii. 2.
[2] Cf. XXVIII. xxxix. 19.

during this year nothing which is particularly worth mentioning. It was considered more useful to the state that the thoroughly aroused Ligurians should be restrained and calmed. B.C. 172

While war with Macedonia was awaited, Issaean envoys brought suspicion also on Gentius, king of the Illyrians, both by complaining that he had ravaged their territory, and also by reporting that the Illyrian king was in harmony with the Macedonian; that they were concerting plans for war against the Romans; and that Illyrian spies, ostensibly an embassy, had been sent to Rome at Perseus' suggestion to get information of what was going forward.[1] These Illyrians were called before the senate: when they said that they had been sent by the king as envoys to clear him of any charges which might be brought by the Issaeans, they were asked why in that case they had not approached a magistrate, in order to receive lodging and official entertainment[2] according to custom, and indeed in order that their arrival and their purpose might be known. When they hesitated in their answer, they were bidden to leave the senate-house; the senate refused to reply, as they would to envoys, to men who had not requested to be presented to the senate. It was decided to send envoys to the king to inform him of the complaints made by Rome's allies, with the message that the senate considered that he was acting unjustly in not refraining from wrong to these allies of theirs. On this embassy were sent Aulus Terentius Varro, Gaius Plaetorius and Gaius Cicereius.

From Asia the envoys, who had been sent round to the several allied kings,[3] returned and reported that

[3] Cf. above, xix. 6.

A.U.C. 582

legati, qui rettulerunt[1] Eumenen Aeginae[2] Antiochum in Syria, Ptolemaeum Alexandriae sese convenisse. Omnes sollicitatos legationibus Persei, sed egregie in[3] fide permanere pollicitosque omnia quae populus Romanus imperasset praestaturos. Et civitates socias adisse: ceteras satis fidas, Rhodios[4] fluctuantes et imbutos Persei consiliis invenisse. Venerant Rhodii legati ad purganda ea quae volgo iactari[5] de civitate sciebant; ceterum senatum iis non prius dari quam novi[6] consules magistratum inissent placuit.

XXVII. Belli apparatum non differendum censuerunt. C. Licinio praetori negotium datur ut ex veteribus quinqueremibus in navalibus Romae subductis quae possent usui esse reficeret pararetque naves quinquaginta. Si quid ad eum numerum explendum deesset, C. Memmio collegae in Siciliam scriberet ut eas quae in Sicilia naves essent reficeret atque expediret, ut Brundisium primo quoque tempore mitti possent. Socios navales libertini[7] ordinis in viginti et quinque naves ex civibus Romanis C. Licinius praetor scribere iussus; in quinque et viginti parem numerum Cn. Sicinius sociis imperaret; idem praetor peditum octo milia, quadringentos equites[8] ab sociis Latini nominis exigeret. Hunc

[1] rettulerunt *Harant*: redierunt V.
[2] Aeginae *H. J. Mueller*: ine (*sic*) V.
[3] egregie in *Fr.*: egraeciae V.
[4] Rhodios *Madvig*: socios V.
[5] purganda ea quae volgo iactari *Fr.*: purganda eaq. uolgo lactari V.
[6] prius dari quam novi *Vahlen*: ui V.
[7] libertini *Fr.*: liberti V.
[8] equites *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

they had met Eumenes at Aegina, Antiochus in Syria and Ptolemy at Alexandria. All had received overtures from the embassies of Perseus but remained nobly loyal and had promised to accomplish everything which the Roman people might command. The envoys had also visited the allied city-states; they had found all of them loyal except Rhodes, which was wavering and steeped in Perseus' plots. Envoys of Rhodes had come to Rome to clear the city of the charges which they knew were generally being bandied about; however, it was decided not to hold a meeting of the senate for them until the new consuls should have entered on their office. B.C. 172

XXVII. The senate decided not to postpone the preparations for war. To Gaius Licinius the praetor was given the task of repairing and making ready fifty of the old quinqueremes which were stored in the ship-yards at Rome[1] and might still be usable. If these were insufficient to make up the number, he was to write to his colleague Gaius Memmius in Sicily to repair and fit out the ships in Sicily, so that they could be sent as soon as possible to Brundisium. Gaius Licinius the praetor was ordered to enroll, from among Roman citizens of the class of freedmen, sailors for twenty-five ships;[2] Gnaeus Sicinius was to order an equal number for twenty-five ships from the allies; the same praetor was to raise eight thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry[3] from the allies of the Latin

[1] For the reverse of this process, cf. XLV. ii. 10.
[2] Cf. XXIV. xi, XXXII. xxiii. 9, XXXVI. ii. 15, XL. xviii. 7.
[3] Smaller numbers for the force which Sicinius actually had in Macedonia are given below, xxxvi. 8 (cf. Zonaras IX. 22).

militem qui Brundisi acciperet atque in Macedoniam
A.U.C. 582 mitteret, A. Atilius Serranus, qui priore anno
5 praetor fuerat, deligitur. Cn. Sicinius praetor ut[1]
exercitium paratum ad traiciendum haberet, C.
Popilio consuli ex auctoritate senatus C. Licinius
praetor scribit ut et legionem secundam, quae
maxime veterana in Liguribus erat, et ex[2] sociis
Latini nominis quattuor milia peditum, ducentos
equites idibus Februariis Brundisi adesse iuberet.
6 Hac classe[3] et hoc exercitu Cn. Sicinius provinciam
Macedoniam obtinere donec successor veniret iussus,
prorogato in annum imperio. Ea omnia quae
senatus censuit impigre facta sunt. Duodequad-
raginta quinqueremes ex navalibus deductae;
qui deduceret eas Brundisium, L. Porcius Licinus
8 praepositus; duodecim ex Sicilia missae. Ad
frumentum classi exercituique coemendum in
Apulium Calabriamque tres legati missi, Sex.
Digitius, T. Iuventius, M. Caecilius. Ad omnia
praeparata Cn. Sicinius praetor, paludatus ex urbe
profectus, Brundisium venit.

XXVIII. Exitu prope anni C. Popilius consul Romam redit aliquanto serius quam senatus[4] censuerat, cui primo quoque tempore magistratus creari, cum tantum bellum immineret, e re publica visum[5]

[1] ut *Kreyssig*: qui ut V.
[2] ex *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[3] i.h.c. *Fr.*: h.c.i. V.
[4] senatus *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] e re publica visum *Bekker*: repulsum V.

[1] The phrase *socii Latini nominis* has previously been translated "Latin allies" (Foster) and "allies of the Latin confederacy" (Sage). These allies were at this time a class of citizens having no political rights at Rome, but having private

Name.[1] To receive this soldiery at Brundisium and B.C. 172
send it to Macedonia, Aulus Atilius Serranus, who had been praetor the preceding year, was chosen. In order that Gnaeus Sicinius the praetor should have an army ready to cross over, Gaius Licinius the praetor, on authorization of the senate, wrote to Gaius Popilius the consul to order both the second legion, which was the longest in service in the Ligurian country, and four thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin Name to be at Brundisium on the thirteenth of February. With this fleet and this army Gnaeus Sicinius was instructed to hold the theatre of operations in Macedonia until his successor should arrive, his term of command being prolonged for a year. All these orders voted by the senate were vigorously carried out. Thirty-eight quinqueremes were launched from the ship-yards; Lucius Porcius Licinus was put in command to take them to Brundisium; twelve were sent from Sicily. To purchase grain in Apulia and Calabria for the fleet and army three commissioners were sent, Sextus Digitius, Titus Iuventius, and Marcus Caecilius. Gnaeus Sicinius the praetor set out from Rome in military dress, and on arriving in Brundisium found everything in readiness.

XXVIII. Almost at the end of the year Gaius Popilius the consul returned to Rome, somewhat later than the senate had advised, for they had thought it to the interest of the state, since so great a war was impending, that magistrates be elected as early as

rights (rights of trade and marriage); they lived in selected communities all over Italy, and, in later times, also in the provinces; there was no longer any necessary connection with Latium; these allies were simply Class B citizens.

A.U.C. 582

2 erat. Itaque non secundis auribus patrum auditus est consul, cum in aede Bellonae de rebus in Ligur-
3 ibus gestis dissereret. Succlamationes frequentes erant interrogationesque cur scelere fratris oppressos Ligures in libertatem non restituisset.
4 Comitia consularia in quam edicta[1] erant diem,
5 ante diem duodecimum kal. Martias, sunt habita. Creati consules P.[2] Licinius Crassus, C. Cassius Longinus. Postero die praetores facti C. Sulpicius Galba, L. Furius Philus, L. Canuleius Dives, C. Lucretius Gallus,[3] C. Caninius Rebilus, L. Villius[4]
6 Annalis. His praetoribus provinciae decretae, duae iure Romae dicendo, Hispania et Sicilia et Sardinia, ut uni sors integra esset quo senatus censuisset. Consulibus designatis imperavit senatus ut qua die
7 magistratum inissent, hostiis[5] maioribus rite mactatis precarentur ut quod bellum populus Romanus in animo haberet gerere ut id prosperum eveniret.
8 Eodem die decrevit senatus C. Popilius consul ludos per dies decem Iovi optimo maximo fieri[6] voveret donaque circa omnia pulvinaria dari, si[7] res publica decem annos in eodem statu fuisset.
9 Ita ut censuerant, in Capitolio vovit consul, ludos

[1] edicta *Fr.*: deuicta V.
[2] P. *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[3] Gallus *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] Villius *Sigonius*: iunius V.
[5] hostiis *Fr.*: hostibus V.
[6] fieri *add. Perizonius*: *om.* V.
[7] si *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] On the date of the elections, cf. XXXVIII. xlii. 2, XL. lix. 5.

possible. And so it was in no favourable mood that B.C. 172 the Fathers listened to the consul as in the temple of Bellona he discussed his accomplishments among the Ligurians. There were frequent outcries and questions as to why he had not restored to freedom the Ligurians crushed by his brother's injustice.

The consular elections were held on the day for which they had been proclaimed, the eighteenth of February.[1] The consuls elected were Publius Licinius Crassus and Gaius Cassius Longinus. On the following day there were elected as praetors Gaius Sulpicius Galba, Lucius Furius Philus, Lucius Canuleius Dives, Gaius Lucretius Gallus, Gaius Caninius Rebilus and Lucius Villius Annalis. To these praetors there were assigned as provinces two judgeships in Rome, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, so that for one there was an unassigned position, at the disposal of the senate.[2] The consuls-elect were instructed by the senate that, on the day of their entering upon their office, they were to pray, after due sacrifice of full-grown victims, that, in the war which the Roman people were intending to wage, the outcome might be favourable. On the same day the senate decreed that Gaius Popilius the consul should vow that games for ten days be dedicated to Jupiter, Greatest and Best, and that gifts be given to all the banquet-tables of the gods[3] if for ten years the state should remain in unchanged fortune. As the senate had decreed, the consul made on the Capitol the vow that games be held and gifts

[2] For such roving commissions, cf. XXXV. xx. 7 (consul), XXXV. xli. 6 (praetor in command of the fleet, area of operations discretionary) XXVII. xxii. 3 and XLIV. xvii. 10.
[3] Cf. XXXVI. ii. 2.

A.U.C. 582

fieri donaque[1] dari quanta ex pecunia decresset senatus, cum centum et quinquaginta non minus adessent. Praeeunte verba Lepido pontifice maximo id votum susceptum est.

10 Eo anno sacerdotes publici mortui L. Aemilius Papus decemvir sacrorum et Q. Fulvius Flaccus
11 pontifex, qui priore anno fuerat censor. Hic foeda morte perit. Ex duobus filiis eius qui tum in Illyrico militabant, nuntiatum alterum mortuum, alterum[2]
12 gravi et periculoso morbo[3] aegrum esse. Obruit animum simul luctus metusque: mane ingressi cubiculum servi laqueo dependentem invenere. Erat opinio post censuram minus compotem fuisse sui; vulgo Iunonis Laciniae iram ob spoliatum
13 templum alienasse mentem ferebant. Suffectus in Aemili locum decemvir M. Valerius Messalla; in Fulvi pontifex Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, oppido adulescens sacerdos, est lectus.

A.U.C. 583

XXIX. P. Licinio C. Cassio consulibus non urbs tantum Roma nec terra Italia, sed omnes reges civitatesque quae in Europa quaeque in Asia erant converterant animos in curam Macedonici ac Romani
2 belli. Eumenen cum vetus odium stimulabat, tum recens ira, quod scelere regis[4] prope ut victima
3 mactatus Delphis esset. Prusias, Bithyniae rex,

[1] donaque *Madvig*: donarique V.
[2] mortuum alterum *add. Weissenborn.*
[3] morbo *Fr.*: morte V.
[4] regis *Jacobs*: eius V.

[1] Burial was refused those who hanged themselves, according to a law which dates from a very early period (Servius on *Aeneid* XII. 603).
[2] Cf. above, iii.

given from as large an appropriation as the senate, B.C. 172 with a quorum of one hundred and fifty, might decree. Lepidus the chief pontifex dictated the words as this vow was taken.

In this year there died of the priests of the state Lucius Aemilius Papus, of the Board of Ten for Ritual, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus the pontifex, who had been censor the year before. He died a disgraceful[1] death. Of his two sons, who were at that time serving in the army in Illyricum, it was reported that one had been killed and one was stricken with a severe and dangerous disease. Grief and fear together overwhelmed the father's mind; slaves who entered his bedroom in the morning found him hanging in a noose. It was thought that after his censorship he was not wholly himself; a common rumour had it that the wrath of Lacinian Juno over the robbing of her temple[2] had unbalanced his mind. In Aemilius' place on the Board of Ten Marcus Valerius Messalla was substituted; in Fulvius' place as pontifex Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, a man quite young for a priesthood, was chosen.

XXIX. In the consulship of Publius Licinius and B.C. 171 Gaius Cassius, not only the city of Rome and the land of Italy, but also all kings and states both in Europe and in Asia, had turned their minds to concern over the war between Macedonia and Rome. Eumenes was urged on by his former enmity and quite as much by his fresh anger, because through the king's crime he had been almost slaughtered like a beast for sacrifice at Delphi.[3] Prusias, the king of Bithynia,

[3] Cf. above, xvi. and the note. For the plot against Eumenes as an occasion of the war cf. Polybius XXII. 18 and XXVII. 6.

A.U.C. 583

statuerat abstinere armis et[1] eventum expectare; nam neque Romanos posse aequum censere, adversus fratrem uxoris se[2] arma ferre, et apud Persea victorem veniam per sororem impetrabilem fore. 4 Ariarathes Cappadocum rex, praeterquam quod Romanis suo nomine auxilia pollicitus erat, ex quo est iunctus Eumeni adfinitate, in omnia belli pacisque 5 se consociaverat consilia. Antiochus imminebat quidem Aegypti regno, et pueritiam regis et inertiam tutorum spernens; et ambigendo de Coele Syria 6 causam belli se habiturum existimabat gesturumque id nullo impedimento occupatis Romanis in Macedonico bello; quod ad[3] bellum tamen omnia et per suos legatos senatui et ipse legatis eorum 7 enixe[4] pollicitus erat. Ptolemaeus propter aetatem alieni tum arbitrii erat; tutores et bellum adversus Antiochum parabant, quo vindicarent Coelen Syriam, et Romanis omnia pollicebantur ad Macedonicum 8 bellum. Masinissa et frumento iuvabat Romanos et auxilia cum elephantis Misagenenque filium mittere ad bellum parabat. Consilia autem in omnem 9 fortunam ita disposita habebat: si penes Romanos victoria esset, sua quoque in eodem statu mansura

[1] et *add. Vahlen.*
[2] se *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[3] ad *add. Vahlen*: *om.* V.
[4] enixe *Kreyssig*: exine V.

[1] Cf. above, xii. 3, and Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, XII. i. 2.

[2] Cf. XXXVIII. xxxix. 6; on Ariarathes' pro-Romanism, above, xix. 3–6.

[3] Cf. Polybius XXVII. 19; Ptolemy VI Philometor was about 16 at this time, having succeeded to the throne in 181 B.C. His tutors were Eulaeus and Lenaeus; the former is accused of cowardice by Polybius XXVIII. 21.

had determined to refrain from arms and await the B.C. 171 outcome; for, he thought, the Romans for their part could not think it right that he should take up arms against his wife's brother, and, as for Perseus, if he conquered, reconciliation might be effected with him through his sister.[1] Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, apart from the fact that he had promised aid directly to the Romans, was from the time of his alliance in marriage with Eumenes in harmony with the latter in all plans for peace or war.[2] Antiochus was indeed threatening the kingdom of Egypt, in scorn of the youth of the king and the sluggishness of his guardians;[3] and he expected, by raising disputes about Hollow Syria,[4] to have a cause for war and to wage it without obstacle while the Romans were busied with the Macedonian war; however, for this war he had zealously promised everything to the senate through his envoys, and personally to the envoys of the senate. Ptolemy because of his age was at that time still under the control of others; his guardians were both preparing war against Antiochus, in order to clear their title to Hollow Syria, and were promising the Romans everything for the war with Macedonia. Masinissa was helping the Romans with grain and was preparing to send to the war troops with elephants under command of his son Misagenes. However, he had plans ready for any outcome, and arranged as follows: if victory should be on the side of the Romans,

[4] The district of Damascus, and extending to the north, between Lebanon and Antilebanon; it had first belonged to Seleucus, was conquered by Ptolemy Philadelphus in 280 and held by Egypt till 218; it was retaken by Antiochus the Great in 201–198, and given by him as dowry for his daughter Cleopatra, mother of the reigning Ptolemy.

A.U.C. 583

esse,[1] neque ultra quidquam movendum; non enim
10 passuros Romanos vim Carthaginiensibus adferri; si fractae essent [2] opes Romanorum, quae tum protegerent Carthaginienses, suam omnem Africam fore.
11 Gentius rex Illyriorum fecerat potius cur suspectus esset Romanis quam satis statuerat, utram foveret partem impetuque magis quam consilio his aut
12 illis [3] se adiuncturus videbatur. Cotys Thrax Odrysarum rex clam [4] Macedonum partis erat.

XXX. Haec sententia regibus cum esset de bello, in liberis gentibus populisque plebs [5] ubique omnis ferme ut solet deterioribus erat, ad [6] regem Macedonasque
2 inclinata; principum diversa [7] cerneres studia. Pars ita in Romanos effusi erant ut auctoritatem immodico
3 favore corrumperent, pauci ex iis iustitia imperii Romani capti, plures ita si praecipuam operam navassent potentes sese in civitatibus suis futuros
4 rati. Pars altera regiae adulationis erat; quosdam [8] aes alienum et desperatio rerum suarum eodem manente statu praecipites ad novanda omnia agebat; quosdam ventosum ingenium, quia ad [9] Persea magis
5 aura popularis ierat.[10] Tertia pars, optima eadem

[1] mansura esse *Madvig*: mansurasse V.
[2] fractae essent *Fr.*: freta essent V.
[3] his aut illis *J. F. Gronovius*: iis aut illius V.
[4] clam *Gertz*: eiad V.
[5] plebs *Fr.*: gens V.
[6] ad *J. F. Gronovius*: ob V.
[7] diversa *Fr.*: aduersa V.
[8] quosdam *Gertz*: quos V.
[9] ad *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[10] ierat *Madvig*: erat V.

[1] As used here, the name covers only the north-western part of the continent.
[2] Cf. above, xxvi. 2.

then his own situation would remain unchanged, B.C. 171
nor should he make any move to expand, for the Romans would not permit violence to be used against the Carthaginians; if the powers of Rome, which then were sheltering the Carthaginians, should be broken, all Africa [1] would be his. Gentius, king of the Illyrians, did not so much determine which side he would favour, as succeed in becoming an object of suspicion to the Romans, and seemed to be about to join the one or the other through impulse more than reasoning.[2] The Thracian Cotys,[3] king of the Odrysae, secretly sided with Macedonia.

XXX. While these were the feelings of the kings about the war, among the free groups and peoples, the commons everywhere were almost all, as usual, for the worse side, being inclined toward the king and the Macedonians; among the leading men one might notice conflicting interests. Some were so enraptured with the Romans as to undermine their own influence by their unrestrained partizanship; a few of them were attracted by the justice of Roman rule, most were moved by the thought that if they displayed some especial service for the Romans they would become powerful in their own states. Another group were toadies to the king; some, because of debt and despair of their own fortunes if no change should occur, were driven headlong to the overturning of everything. Some were upset by their own windy instability of character, since the breeze of popular favour turned in Perseus' direction. A third group, which was also the worthiest

[3] Polybius XXVII. 12 speaks highly of Cotys' ability; he was counter-balanced by other Thracians, cf. above, xix. 7; for his help to Perseus, cf. below, li. 10.

A.U.C. 583

et prudentissima, si utique optio domini potioris daretur, sub Romanis quam sub rege malebat esse;
6 si liberum in ea re [1] arbitrium fortunae esset, neutram partem volebant potentiorem altera oppressa fieri, sed illibatis [2] potius viribus utriusque partis pacem ex aequo manere; ita inter utrasque optimam condicionem civitatium fore, protegente altera semper
7 inopem ab alterius iniuria. Haec sentientes certamina fautorum utriusque partis taciti ex tuto spectabant.

8 Consules, quo die magistratum inierunt, ex senatus consulto cum circa omnia fana, in quibus lectisternium maiorem partem anni esse solet, maioribus hostiis immolassent, inde preces suas [3] acceptas ab diis immortalibus ominati, senatui rite sacrificatum precationemque de bello factam renuntiarunt. Haruspices ita responderunt: si quid rei novae
9 inciperetur, id maturandum esse; victoriam, trium-
10 phum, propagationem [4] imperii portendi. Patres, quod bonum faustum [5] felixque populo Romano esset, centuriatis comitiis primo quoque die ferre [6]

[1] in ea re *Vahlen*: inde V.
[2] illibatis *Fr.*: inliuatam V.
[3] suas *Fr.*: suasque V.
[4] propagationem *Perizonius*: prorogatio V.
[5] imperii . . . faustum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[6] quoque die ferre *Fr.*: diferre V.

[1] Livy's apparent lack of pro-Roman bias at this point probably results from his having taken this material from

and wisest,[1] if merely a choice of a dominating B.C. 171 superior were offered them, preferred to be under the Romans rather than under the king; but if they had a free choice of destiny in this respect, they wished neither side to become the more powerful through the downfall of the other, but rather that, the strength of both sides being unexhausted, peace on terms of equality should continue; thus the situation of the free states with respect to the two powers would be most advantageous, since one power would always protect the weak against wrongdoing by the other. With these sentiments they watched silently from a safe position the contests of the partisans of either side.

In accordance with a decree of the senate, the consuls, on the day of their inauguration, offered sacrifices of full-grown victims at all the temples in which a banquet for the god is usually spread during the greater part of the year; thereupon, feeling assured that their prayers were approved by the immortal gods, they reported to the senate that due sacrifice and prayer for the war had been made. The diviners [2] gave the following report: If any new enterprise should be begun, it should be speeded on; victory, triumph, and enlargement of the realm were forecast. The Fathers, with the wish that it might be well and of good omen and fortune for the Roman people, instructed the consuls to present on the first possible day to the people, assembled in their Hun-

Polybius, who was active in one of the groups which believed in the balance of power.

[2] These diviners (the Latin term *haruspices* has previously been used) observed all manner of signs, especially the entrails of sacrificial animals; their art was originally Etruscan (cf. V. xv. 1).

a.u.c. 583

ad populum consules iusserunt ut quod Perseus Philippi filius, Macedonum rex, adversus foedus cum patre Philippo ictum et secum post mortem eius renovatum sociis populi Romani arma intulisset, 11 agros vastasset[1] urbesque occupasset, quodque belli parandi adversus populum Romanum[2] consilia inisset, arma milites classem eius rei causa comparasset, ut, nisi de iis rebus satisfecisset, bellum cum eo iniretur. Haec rogatio ad populum lata est.

XXXI. Senatus consultum inde factum est ut consules inter se provincias Italiam et Macedoniam compararent sortirenturve; cui Macedonia obvenisset, ut is regem Persea quique eius sectam secuti essent, nisi populo Romano satisfecissent, bello 2 persequeretur. Legiones quattuor novas scribi placuit, binas singulis consulibus. Id praecipui[3] provinciae Macedoniae datum quod, cum alterius consulis legionibus[4] quina milia et duceni pedites ex vetere instituto darentur in singulas legiones, in Macedoniam sena milia peditum scribi iussa, equites 3 treceni aequaliter in singulas legiones. Et in sociali

[1] vastasset *Fr.*: uastaret V.
[2] PR. *Fr.*: praetorem V.
[3] praecipui *Lipsius*: praecipue V.
[4] legionibus *Fr.*: legationibus V.

[1] The founding of the *comitia centuriata* was ascribed to Servius Tullius in 578 B.C. It was the second in age of the Roman assemblies; by this time, it was the older and more dignified of the assemblies actually held, having elective and judicial functions as well as the legislative ones which it shared with the *comitia tributa*.

[2] A much-mutilated inscription (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed. No. 643) has been discovered, containing a letter of the senate to the Delphic Amphictyony,

dreds,[1] the resolution that, whereas Perseus, son of B.C. 171 Philip, King of Macedonia, contrary to the treaty made with his father Philip and renewed with himself after the death of his father, had invaded allies of the Roman people, had devastated their land and seized their cities, and whereas he had entered on plans for preparing war against the Roman people, and had assembled arms, soldiers and fleet for the said purpose, resolved that, unless he offered satisfaction in these matters, war against him be undertaken.[2] This resolution was passed by the people.

XXXI. Thereupon a decree of the senate ws passed that the consuls should with each other arrange or draw lots for the districts of Italy and Macedonia, and that the consul to whom Macedonia should fall should attack in war King Perseus and those who took his part, unless they rendered satisfaction to the Roman people. It was voted to enroll four new legions, two for each consul. The special arrangement was made for the district of Macedonia that, although to the legions of the other consul five thousand two hundred infantry per legion were allotted in accordance with old custom, for Macedonia six thousand infantry[3] were ordered to be enrolled and for both forces three hundred cavalry in each legion. Also the number for the force of allies was

which has been restored as setting forth the grievances of the Romans against Philip as related here and below by Livy, as well as by other authors.

[2] Cf. XLIII. xii. 3–4 and XLIV. xxi. 8 for the extra strength of these legions; in XXXV. ii. 4, a strength of 6200 is mentioned; however, Polybius (III. cvii. 11 and VI. xx. 8) states that the normal strength of the legion was about 4000 infantry, and emergency strength, about 5000, which suggests that Livy may be using inflated figures here.

A.U.C. 583

exercitu consuli alteri auctus numerus: sedecim milia peditum octingentos equites, praeter eos quos Cn. Sicinius duxisset, sescentos equites, in Macedoniam traiceret. Italiae satis visa duodecim milia sociorum peditum, sescenti equites. Illud quoque praecipuum datum sorti Macedoniae, ut centuriones militesque veteres scriberet quos vellet consul usque ad quinquaginta annos. In tribunis militum novatum eo anno propter Macedonicum bellum, quod consules ex senatus consulto ad populum tulerunt, ne tribuni militum eo anno suffragiis crearentur, sed consulum praetorumque in iis faciendis iudicium arbitriumque esset. Inter praetores ita partita imperia: praetorem, cuius sors fuisset ut iret quo senatus censuisset, Brundisium ad classem ire placuit, atque ibi recognoscere [1] socios navales, dimissisque si qui parum idonei essent, supplementum legere ex libertinis et dare operam ut duae partes civium Romanorum, tertia sociorum esset. Commeatus classi legionibus ut ex Sicilia Sardiniaque [2] subveherentur, praetoribus, qui [3] eas provincias sortiti essent, mandari placuit ut alteras decimas Siculis Sardisque imperarent, quod [4] frumentum ad exercitum in Macedoniam portaretur. Siciliam C. Caninius Rebilus est sortitus, L. Furius Philus Sardiniam, L. Canuleius Hispaniam,[5] C. Sulpicius Galba urbanam iurisdictionem L. Villius [6]

[1] recognoscere *Bekker*: recognosceret V.
[2] Sardiniaque *Fr.*: sardinia V.
[3] qui *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] quod *Vahlen*: utquod V.
[5] L. Canuleius Hispaniam *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[6] L. Villius *Sigonius*: c. iulius V.

[1] The election of tribunes of the soldiers had been the rule since 309 B.C. (*supra* IX. xxx. 3). Later half were elected, half appointed (XLIII. xii. 7 and XLIV. xxi. 2–3).

increased for the one consul; he was to take over to Macedonia sixteen thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry besides the six hundred cavalry under the command of Gnaeus Sicinius. For Italy twelve thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry of the allies were judged sufficient. The following privilege was also granted to the Macedonian allotment, that the consul might at his discretion enroll former centurions and soldiers up to fifty years of age. In connection with the tribunes of the soldiers, an innovation was made that year because of the Macedonian war, a change brought before the commons by the consuls in accordance with a resolution of the senate, namely, that tribunes of the soldiers should not be chosen by vote for this year but that the consuls and praetors should exercise their judgment and choice in appointing them.[1] Commands were divided among the praetors as follows: it was decided that the praetor whose lot it was to go where the senate determined should go to the fleet at Brundisium and there inspect the sailors; after discharging any who were unfit, he was to enroll replacements from among freedmen, and see to it that two-thirds should be Roman citizens and one-third allies. It was voted to instruct the praetors who should draw Sicily and Sardinia, in order that provisions from these provinces might be conveyed to the fleet and legions, that they should impose a second tithe [2] on the Sicilians and Sardinians, this grain to be transported to the army in Macedonia. Sicily was drawn by Gaius Caninius Rebilus, Sardinia by Lucius Furius Philus, Spain by Lucius Canuleius, the jurisdiction over citizens by Gaius Sulpicius Galba, that over aliens by Lucius Villius Annalis;

B.C. 171

[2] Cf. XXXVII. l. 9.

A.U.C. 583 Annalis inter peregrinos; C. Lucretio Gallo, quo senatus censuisset sors obvenit.

XXXII. Inter consules magis cavillatio quam magna contentio de provincia fuit. Cassius sine sorte [1] se Macedoniam optaturum [2] dicebat, nec posse 2 collegam salvo iureiurando secum sortiri. Praetorem eum enim ne [3] in provinciam iret, in contione iurasse se stato loco statisque diebus sacrificia habere quae absente se recte fieri non possent; quae non magis consule quam praetore absente recte fieri posse, 3 si [4] senatus non quid velit in consulatu, potius quam quid in praetura iuraverit P. Licinius, animadvertendum esse censeat; se tamen futurum in senatus potestate. Consulti patres, cui consulatum populus 4 Romanus non negasset, ei [5] ab se provinciam negari superbum rati, sortiri consules iusserunt. P. Licinio 5 Macedonia, C.[6] Cassio Italia obvenit. Legiones inde sortiti sunt: prima et tertia ut [7] in Macedoniam traicerentur, secunda et quarta ut in Italia remanerent. 6 Dilectum consules multo intentiore quam alias cura [8] habebant. Licinius veteres quoque scribebat milites centurionesque; et multi voluntate nomina dabant, quia locupletes videbant, qui priore Macedonico bello aut adversus Antiochum in Asia stipendia

[1] sorte *Fr.*: forte V.
[2] optaturum *Ruben*: oppugnaturum V.
[3] eum enim ne *Vahlen*: eumenien V.
[4] posse si *Heller*: possent si V.
[5] ei *add. Pluygers*: *om.* V.
[6] C. *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[7] ut *add. Wesenberg*: *om.* V.
[8] intentiore . . . cura *Kreyssig*: intentiorem . . . curam V.

the lot placed Gaius Lucretius Gallus at the senate's B.C. 171 disposal.

XXXII. Between the consuls there was an outburst of sarcasm rather than a great dispute concerning the assignment of their provinces. Cassius said he would choose Macedonia without the lot and that his colleague could not, without perjury, cast lots with him. For when Licinius had been praetor,[1] that he might not have to go to his province, he had sworn before an assembly that he had sacrifices in a fixed place and on fixed days which could not be duly performed in his absence; sacrifices could no more be duly performed in the absence of a consul than in the absence of a praetor, unless the senate thought it best to take notice of Publius Licinius' wishes as consul, rather than of the oath he had taken as praetor; however, said Cassius, he would submit himself to the senate. When the matter was laid before the Fathers, inasmuch as they thought it would be arrogant on their part to withhold a province from the man from whom the Roman people had not withheld the consulship,[2] they ordered the consuls to cast lots. Macedonia fell to Publius Licinius, Italy to Gaius Cassius. Next the legions were allotted; the first and third were to cross to Macedonia, the second and fourth to remain in Italy.

The consuls were conducting the levy with by far more painstaking care than usual. Licinius was also enrolling the veteran soldiers and centurions; likewise many enlisted voluntarily, because they saw that those who had served in the former Macedonian campaign or against Antiochus in Asia had become

[1] Cf. XLI. xv. 10.
[2] For a somewhat similar verdict, cf. XXXII. vii. 11.

A.U.C. 583

fecerant.[1] Cum tribuni militum, qui centuriones scribebant,[2] primum quemque citarent, tres et viginti centuriones qui primos pilos duxerant[3] citati tribunos plebis appellarunt. Duo ex collegio, M.[4] Fulvius Nobilior et M. Claudius Marcellus, ad consules rem[5] reiciebant: eorum cognitionem esse debere, quibus dilectus quibusque bellum mandatum esset; ceteri cognituros se de quo appellati essent aiebant, et si iniuria fieret, auxilium civibus laturos.[6]

XXXIII. Ad subsellia tribunorum res agebatur; eo M. Popilius consularis, advocatus centurionum, et[7] 2 centuriones et consul venerunt. Consule inde postulante ut in contione ea res ageretur, populus in contionem advocatus. Pro centurionibus M. Popilius, qui biennio ante consul fuerat, ita verba 3 fecit: Militares homines et stipendia iusta et corpora et aetate et assiduis laboribus confecta habere,[8] nihil recusare[9] tamen quo minus operam rei publicae dent. Id tantum deprecari, ne inferiores iis ordines quam quos cum[10] militassent habuissent, attri-

[1] fecerant *Fr.*: ferabant V.
[2] scribebant *H. J. Mueller*: sed V.
[3] duxerant *Fr.*: deduxerant V.
[4] *ante* M., M. fuluius nouiliore *inseruit* V.
[5] rem *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[6] laturos *Fr.*: staturos V.
[7] centurionum et *add. Hertz*: *om.* V.
[8] habere *Fr.*: habent L.
[9] recusare *Fr.*: recusarent V.
[10] cum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] Former rank was not renewed at re-enlistment; however, it was no doubt taken into account by enlisting officers; this incident may have been a turning-point, as in later times rank was regularly held over on re-enlistment.

rich. When the military tribunes who were appoint- B.C. 171
ing centurions were assigning men as they came,[1] twenty-three veterans who had held the rank of chief centurion[2] on being named appealed to the tribunes of the people. Two of these magistrates, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, referred the matter back to the consuls; for, they said, the investigation belonged to those to whom the levy and the war had been committed; the other tribunes said they would investigate the matter of the appeal, and if wrong was being done, they would come to the aid of their fellow-citizens.

XXXIII. The investigation took place at the benches of the tribunes; thither came Marcus Popilius, the ex-consul, as counsel for the centurions, the centurions themselves, and the consul. At the request of the consul that this investigation take place before an assembly, the people were summoned to an assembly. On behalf of the centurions Marcus Popilius, who had been consul two years before, addressed the people as follows: These soldierly men had ended their regular military service and had also ended their physical vigour because of both age and unremitting labour; however, they offered no objection to contributing their services to the state. This one request they did make, that they should not be assigned ranks lower than those they had held during their regular service.[3] Publius

[2] The forward, or ranking, centurion of the first maniple of the reserve formation (*triarii*) was so called; it is not certain whether the rear centurion of this maniple (*primus pilus posterior*) would also be included; *duxerant* suggests his exclusion. Cf. Polybius VI. 24.

[3] In the army contemplated there were not, however, enough such positions to go around.

A.U.C. 583

4 buerentur.[1] P. Licinius consul senatus consulta[2] recitari iussit, primum, quo bellum senatus Perseo iussisset, deinde, quo veteres centuriones quam plurimos[3] ad id bellum scribi censuisset, nec ulli qui non maior annis quinquaginta esset vacationem
5 militiae esse. Deprecatus est deinde, ne[4] in novo bello, tam propinquo Italiae, adversus regem
6 potentissimum, aut tribunos militum dilectum habentes impedirent, aut prohiberent consulem, quem cuique ordinem assignari e re publica esset, eum assignare. Si quid[5] in ea re dubium esset ad senatum reicerent.

XXXIV. Postquam consul quae voluerat dixit, Sp. Ligustinus, ex eo numero, qui tribunos plebis appellaverant, a consule et ab tribunis[6] petit ut sibi paucis
2 ad populum agere liceret. Permissu omnium ita locutus fertur:

"Sp. Ligustinus Crustumina[7] ex Sabinis sum oriundus, Quirites. Pater mihi iugerum agri reliquit et parvum tugurium, in quo natus educatusque
3 sum, hodieque[8] ibi habito. Cum primum in aetatem veni, pater mihi uxorem fratris sui filiam dedit, quae secum nihil attulit praeter libertatem

[1] habuissent attribuerentur *Fr.*: habuisset adtribuerunt V.
[2] senatus consulta *Crevier*: cos. sc. *sic* V.
[3] plurimos *J. F. Gronovius*: plurimum V.
[4] ne *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[5] Si quid *Fr.*: isiquide (*sic*) V.
[6] tribunis *Fr.*: tribuno V.
[7] Crustumina *Weissenborn*: tribus crustimina V.
[8] hodieque *Fr.*: hodiecumque V.

[1] The district of this tribe lay just north of Rome; it was perhaps a new tribe in 495 B.C., cf. II. xxi. 7.

[2] This was less than the standard minimum of two *iugera* for landed property; Ligustinus was therefore technically

Licinius the consul ordered to be read the decrees B.C. 171 of the senate, first that in which the senate authorized the war against Perseus, then that in which it resolved that as many former centurions as possible be enrolled for this war, and no exemption from service be granted to anyone under fifty-one years of age. Then he made the request that, in a new war, at so little a distance from Italy, against a very powerful king, the people should not hinder the military tribunes who were holding the levy or prevent the consul from assigning such rank to each man as was to the best interests of the state. If there were any doubtful point in this matter, let them refer it back to the senate.

XXXIV. After the consul had said what he wished, Spurius Ligustinus, one of the men who had appealed to the tribunes of the people, asked of the consul and the tribunes that he be permitted to address a few words to the people. With everyone's permission he is said to have spoken as follows:

"I, Spurius Ligustinus of the tribe of Crustumina,[1] come of Sabine stock, fellow-citizens. My father left me an acre[2] of land and a little hut, in which I was born and brought up, and to this day I live there. When I first came of age, my father gave me as wife his brother's daughter,[3] who brought with her nothing but her free birth and her chastity, and

a *proletarius*, and no doubt needed his military career as a means of livelihood.

[3] Marriage of first cousins was at times not recognized as legal at Rome; it is not clear whether this was a rustic irregularity, or an indication of the lapse of any such impediment at this time. Cf. Cicero, *Philippics*, II. 99 (Antony made such a marriage), Tacitus, *Annals*, XII. 6 (regarded as unprecedented), Plutarch, *Roman Questions*, 6 (a recent innovation).

A.U.C. 583

pudicitiamque, et cum his fecunditatem, quanta vel
4 in diti domo satis esset. Sex filii nobis, duae filiae
sunt, utraeque iam nuptae. Filii quattuor togas
5 viriles habent, duo praetextati sunt. Miles sum
factus P. Sulpicio C. Aurelio consulibus. In eo
exercitu quo in Macedoniam est transportatus, bien-
nium miles gregarius fui adversus Philippum regem;
tertio anno virtutis causa mihi T. Quinctius Flamini-
6 nus decimum ordinem hastatum assignavit. Devicto
Philippo Macedonibusque cum in Italiam reportati [1] ac
dimissi essemus, continuo miles voluntarius cum M.
7 Porcio consule in Hispaniam sum profectus. Nemi-
nem omnium imperatorum quo vivant acriorem [2]
virtutis spectatorem ac iudicem fuisse sciunt, qui et
illum et alios duces longa militia experti sunt. Hic
me imperator dignum iudicavit cui primum hastatum
8 prioris centuriae assignaret. Tertio iterum volun-
tarius miles factus sum in eum exercitum qui adversus
Aetolos et Antiochum regem est missus. A M'.
Acilio [3] mihi primus princeps prioris centuriae est
9 assignatus. Expulso rege Antiocho subactis [4] Aetolis
reportati sumus in Italiam; et deinceps bis, quae

[1] reportati *Fr.*: portati V.
[2] acriorem *Fr.*: acrioris V.
[3] a M'. Acilio *Sigonius*: a.m. caelio V.
[4] subactis *Fr.*: subactolis V.

[1] That is, were over sixteen or seventeen; the man's toga, except for senators, was plain white; the boy's had a purple border-stripe.

[2] 200 B.C., cf. XXXI. v. 1.

[3] The advance formation (*hastati*) was the lowest in rank of the three main subdivisions of the legion, and the tenth maniple the lowest in rank in the formation; from his subsequent status, it seems likely that Ligustinus was given the

with these a fertility which would be enough even B.C. 171
for a wealthy home. We have six sons, and two
daughters, both of whom are now married. Four of
our sons have assumed the toga of manhood,[1] two
wear the boys' stripe. I became a soldier in the
consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Gaius Aurelius.[2]
In the army which was taken over to Macedonia I
served two years as a private soldier against King
Philip; in the third year, for my bravery, Titus
Quinctius Flamininus made me centurion of the
tenth maniple of the advance formation.[3] After
the defeat of Philip and the Macedonians, when we
had been brought back to Italy and discharged,
immediately I set out for Spain as a volunteer soldier
with Marcus Porcius the consul.[4] No one, of all the
generals now living, was a keener observer and judge
of bravery, as those know who have had experience
of him and other leaders, too, through long service.
This general judged me worthy to be assigned as
centurion of the forward first century of the advance
formation. For the third time I enlisted, again
voluntarily, in the army which was sent against the
Aetolians and King Antiochus.[5] By Manius Acilius
I was given the rank of centurion of the forward
first century of the main formation. When King
Antiochus had been driven out and the Aetolians
beaten, we were brought back to Italy; and twice

forward centurionship (*prior*), not the very lowest in the legion, the rear (*posterior*). For the origin of these subdivisions of the legion, cf. VIII. viii. 5–13; Polybius VI. 21. 6–23.

[4] 195 B.C., cf. XXXIII. xlii. 7 and xliii. The consul was the famous Cato the Censor. Ligustinus had returned to Italy before his commander Flamininus, who returned at the same time that Cato came back from Spain.

[5] 191 B.C., cf. XXXVI. i. ff.

A.U.C. 583

annua merebant legiones, stipendia feci. Bis deinde in Hispania militavi, semel Q. Fulvio Flacco, iterum
10 Ti. Sempronio Graccho praetore. A Flacco inter ceteros, quos virtutis causa secum ex provincia ad[1] triumphum deducebat, deductus sum; a Ti. Graccho
11 rogatus in provinciam ii. Quater intra paucos annos primum pilum duxi; quater et tricies virtutis causa donatus ab imperatoribus sum; sex civicas coronas accepi. Viginti duo stipendia annua in exercitu emerita habeo, et maior annis sum quin-
12 quaginta. Quodsi mihi nec stipendia omnia emerita essent necdum aetas vacationem daret, tamen, cum quattuor milites pro me vobis[2] dare, P. Licini,
13 possem, aequum erat me dimitti. Sed haec pro causa mea dicta accipiatis velim; ipse me, quoad quisquam qui exercitus scribit idoneum militem
14 iudicabit, numquam sum excusaturus. Quo ordine[3] me dignum iudicent tribuni militum, ipsorum est potestatis; ne quis me virtute in exercitu praestet, dabo operam; et[4] semper ita fecisse me et[5] imperatores mei et qui una stipendia fecerunt testes sunt.
15 Vos quoque aequum est, commilitones, etsi appellatione vestrum[6] usurpatis ius, cum adulescentes nihil adversus magistratuum senatusque auctoritatem

[1] ad *Fr.*: ex V.
[2] me vobis *Novák*: meo uobis V.
[3] quo ordine *H. J. Mueller*: ordine quo V
[4] et *J. F. Gronovius*: ut V.
[5] me et *Fr.*: mut V.
[6] appellatione vostrum *Madvig*: appellationem uos V.

after that I was in campaigns where the legions served for a year. Then I campaigned twice in Spain, once when Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was praetor,[1] and again when Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus held that office.[2] I was brought home by Flaccus along with the others whom he brought with him from the province for his triumph because of their bravery;[3] I went back to the province because Tiberius Gracchus asked me. Four times within a few years I held the rank of chief centurion; thirty-four times I was rewarded for bravery by my generals; I have received six civic crowns.[4] I have done twenty-two years of service in the army, and I am over fifty years old. But if all my years of service had not been completed and my age did not yet give me exemption, still, since I could give you four soldiers in my place, Publius Licinius, it would be fair to discharge me. But I should like you to accept these things that I have said on my side of the case; for my part, as long as anyone who is enrolling armies considers me fit for service, I will never beg off. Of what rank the military tribunes think me worthy is for them to decide; I shall see to it that no one in the army surpasses me in bravery; and that I have always done so, both my generals and those who have served with me are witnesses. It is fair for you too, fellow-soldiers, even though you are within your rights in this appeal, since, when you were young you never did anything against the authority of the magistrates and the senate, now also

B.C. 171

[1] 181 B.C., cf. XL. i. 1, xvi. 7–10, xxx–xxxiii, xxxvi. 10–11 and xxxix–xl.
[2] 180 B.C., cf. XL. xxxv. 2, xl. 14.
[3] Cf. XL. xliii. 4–7.
[4] For saving the life of a Roman citizen.

A.U.C. 583 usquam feceritis, nunc quoque in potestate consulum ac senatus[1] esse et omnia honesta loca ducere, quibus rem publicam defensuri sitis."

XXXV. Haec ubi dixit,[2] collaudatum multis verbis P. Licinius[3] consul ex contione in senatum 2 duxit. Ibi quoque ei ex auctoritate senatus gratiae actae, tribunique militares in legione prima primum pilum virtutis causa ei assignarunt. Ceteri centuriones remissa[4] appellatione ad dilectum oboedienter responderunt.

3 Quo maturius in provincias magistratus proficiscerentur, Latinae kalendis Iuniis fuere; eoque sollemni perfecto C. Lucretius praetor omnibus quae ad classem opus erant praemissis Brundisium est pro- 4 fectus. Praeter eos exercitus quos consules comparabant, C. Sulpicio Galbae praetori negotium datum ut quattuor legiones scriberet urbanas,[5] iusto numero peditum equitumque, iisque quattuor tribunos mili- 5 tum ex senatu legeret qui praeessent; sociis Latini nominis imperaret quindecim milia peditum, mille et ducentos equites; is exercitus uti[6] paratus esset 6 quo senatus censuisset. P. Licinio consuli ad exercitum civilem socialemque[7] petenti addita auxilia, Ligurum duo milia, Cretenses sagittarii—incertus numerus, quantum rogati[8] Cretenses misis- 7 sent—Numidae item equites elephantique. In eam

[1] consulum ac senatus *H. J. Mueller*: ac senatu consultum V.
[2] dixit *Fr.*: sitis V.
[3] Licinius *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[4] remissa *Kreyssig*: praemissa V.
[5] scriberet urbanas *Fr.*: scriberent uruanas V.
[6] uti *Fr.*: is uti V.
[7] socialemque *Fr.*: societatemque V.
[8] rogati *J. F. Gronovius*: rogati auxilia V.

to submit to the consuls and the senate, and to B.C. 171 consider every place honourable in which you will be defending the state."

XXXV. When he had said this, Publius Licinius the consul praised him at some length and took him from the assembly to the senate. There also thanks were expressed to him by authorization of the senate, and the military tribunes gave him for his bravery a chief centurionship in the first legion. The other centurions gave up their appeal and obediently responded to the levy.

In order that the magistrates might set out sooner for their provinces, the Latin Festival was held on the first of June;[1] and after this ceremony had been completed the praetor Gaius Lucretius, having sent ahead everything needed for the fleet, set out for Brundisium. Besides those armies which the consuls were raising, the task was given the praetor Gaius Sulpicius Galba of enrolling four city legions of the regular number of infantry and cavalry, and of choosing for them from the senate four military tribunes as commanders; he was to order from the allies of the Latin Name fifteen thousand infantry and twelve hundred cavalry, this force to assemble at a place which the senate should determine. At the request of the consul Publius Licinius, to his army of citizens and allies there were added auxiliary troops, two thousand Ligurians, archers from Crete—the number which the Cretans sent on request is not certain—and also Numidian cavalry and elephants.

[1] But according to the Julian calendar, this would have been some date in April; the calendar divergence at this period can be checked by eclipses of the moon in 190 B.C. (XXXVII. iv. 4) and in 168 (XLIV. xxxvii. 8).

A.U.C. 583

rem legati ad Masinissam Carthaginiensesque missi L. Postumius Albinus, Q. Terentius Culleo, C. Aburius. In Cretam item legatos tres [1] ire placuit, A. Postumium Albinum, C. Decimium,[2] A. Licinium Nervam.

XXXVI. Per idem tempus legati ab rege Perseo venerunt. Eos in oppidum intromitti non placuit, cum iam bellum regi eorum et Macedonibus et 2 senatus decresset et populus iussisset. In aedem Bellonae in senatum introducti ita verba fecerunt: mirari Persea regem quid in Macedoniam exercitus 3 transportati essent; si impetrari a senatu posset,[3] ut ii revocentur, regem de iniuriis, si quas sociis factas quererentur, arbitratu senatus satisfacturum 4 esse. Sp. Carvilius, ad eam ipsam rem ex Graecia remissus ab Cn. Sicinio, in senatu erat.[4] Is Perrhaebiam expugnatam armis, Thessaliae aliquot urbes captas, cetera quae aut ageret aut pararet rex, cum 5 argueret, respondere ad ea legati iussi. Postquam haesitabant, negantes sibi ultra quidquam mandatum esse, iussi renuntiare regi, consulem P. Licinium 6 brevi cum exercitu futurum in Macedonia esse: ad eum, si satisfacere in animo esset, mitteret legatos.

[1] i.C.i.l.t. *Fr.*: in creta mitterent legatos res V.
[2] Decimium *Sigonius*: decium V.
[3] posset *Fr.*: esset V.
[4] erat *Fr.*: eratuerat V.

[1] But below, ch. liii. 8, Perseus takes Perrhaebia all over again. Livy's account here of the king's actions shows that the tale of Perseus' belligerence, as previously told, is a Roman invention to justify the forcing of the "irrepressible conflict" by Rome.

For this purpose there were sent as envoys to B.C. 171 Masinissa and the Carthaginians Lucius Postumius Albinus, Quintus Terentius Culleo and Gaius Aburius. It was also decided that three envoys should go to Crete, Aulus Postumius Albinus, Gaius Decimius and Aulus Licinius Nerva.

XXXVI. During the same time envoys from King Perseus arrived. It was decided not to admit them to the city, since the senate had decreed and the people had ordered war with their king and the Macedonians. On being presented before the senate in the temple of Bellona they spoke as follows: King Perseus wondered why armies had been carried across to Macedonia; if he might persuade the senate to recall them, the king would make amends at the discretion of the senate for any wrongs done to their allies, of which they might complain. Spurius Carvilius, who had been sent back from Greece by Gnaeus Sicinius for this very purpose, was in the senate. When he had complained of Perrhaebia's having been stormed by force of arms,[1] of the capture of several Thessalian cities,[2] and of other things which the king was either doing or about to do, the envoys were ordered to make a reply thereto. After they hesitated, saying that they had no further instructions, they were ordered to report to the king that the consul Publius Licinius would shortly be in Macedonia with an army; let the king, if giving satisfaction was his purpose, send envoys to *him*.

[2] In XLI. xxii. 6 and xxiii. 14 only a peaceful tour of Thessaly is mentioned; by comparing below, ch. xlii. 1 and lxvii. 9–11, we may gather that at least three Thessalian cities struck up an alliance with Perseus as the result of this visitation; but "capture" is a Roman exaggeration.

A.U.C. 583 Romam quod praeterea mitteret non esse; nemini
7 enim eorum[1] per Italiam ire liciturum. Ita dimissis P. Licinio consuli mandatum intra undecimum[2] diem iuberet eos Italia excedere, et Sp. Carvilium mitteret
8 qui donec navem conscendissent custodiret. Haec Romae acta, nondum profectis in provinciam consuli-
A.U.C. 582 bus. Iam Cn. Sicinius qui, priusquam magistratu abiret, Brundisium ad classem et ad exercitum praemissus erat, traiectis in Epirum quinque milibus peditum, trecentis equitibus, ad Nymphaeum in agro
9 Apolloniati castra habebat. Inde tribunos cum duobus milibus[3] militum ad occupanda Dassaretiorum et Illyriorum castella, ipsis accersentibus praesidia, ut tutiores a finitimorum impetu Macedonum essent, misit.

XXXVII. Paucis post diebus Q. Marcius et[4] A. Atilius et P. et Ser. Cornelii Lentuli et L. Decimius, legati in Graeciam missi, Corcyram peditum mille secum advexerunt; ibi inter se et regiones quas obirent

[1] nemini enim eorum *Duker*: neminemeorum V.
[2] intra undecimum *Fr.*: ettraxi V.
[3] milibus *Fr.*: milia V.
[4] et *add. Wesenberg*: *om.* V.

[1] Livy repeats this account below ch. xlviii. 3, there following Polybius. It should be noted that the events next related actually precede those which Livy has been describing. Appian IX. xi. 5–9 mentions two embassies, the second of which is, as here, sent out of Italy. Both Appian and Polybius (XXVII. 6) say that all Macedonians were ordered to leave Italy, but on thirty days' notice, which was also given the ambassadors (cf. Livy, below).

[2] The number is smaller than that given above in xxvii. 3, and perhaps derives from Polybius.

[3] Strabo VII. v. 8, describes this as " a rock that gives forth fire, and beneath it flow springs of warm water and asphalt—

There was no further reason, the senate declared, B.C. 171 for his sending envoys to Rome; for none of them would be permitted to pass through Italy. After they were thus dismissed, instructions were given to Publius Licinius the consul to order them to depart from Italy within eleven days, and that he should send Spurius Carvilius to guard them until they boarded ship.[1] These things took place at Rome before the consuls took the field. By this time B.C. 172 Gnaeus Sicinius, who before giving up his office had been sent ahead to Brundisium to the fleet and army, had transported to Epirus five thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry[2] and had encamped near the Place of the Nymphs[3] in the territory of Apollonia. Thence he sent tribunes with two thousand soldiers to hold forts of the Dassareti and of the Illyrians, since these peoples themselves requested garrisons, in order that they might be better protected against attack by their neighbours the Macedonians.

XXXVII. A few days later, Quintus Marcius, Aulus Atilius, Publius and Servius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Decimius, who had been sent as envoys to Greece, brought a thousand infantry with them to Corcyra; there they divided among themselves both the districts they were to approach,

probably because the clods of asphalt in the earth are burned by the fire. And nearby, on a hill, is a mine of asphalt; and the part that is trenched is filled up again in the course of time, since, as Poseidonius says, the earth that is poured into the trenches changes to asphalt." (tr. H. L. Jones, L.C.L.) Nymphs dancing about the fire appeared on coins of Apollonia. A convent preserved the religious association in recent times. The asphalt deposits are still worked, and leakage of gas sometimes supplies the fire.

A.U.C. 582

2 et milites diviserunt. L. Decimius missus est ad Gentium regem Illyriorum, quem si aliquem respectum amicitiae cum populo Romano [1] habere cerneret, temptare ut etiam ad belli societatem perliceret [2] 3 iussus. Lentuli in Cephallaniam missi, ut in Peloponnesum traicerent oramque maris in occidentem 4 versi ante hiemem circumirent. Marcio et Atilio Epirus, Aetolia,[3] Thessalia circumeundae assignantur; inde Boeotiam atque Euboeam adspicere iussi, tum in Peloponnesum traicere; ibi congressuros se cum 5 Lentulis constituunt. Priusquam digrederentur a Corcyra, litterae a [4] Perseo adlatae sunt, quibus quaerebat quae causa Romanis aut in Graeciam 6 traiciendi copias aut urbes occupandi esset. Cui rescribi non placuit, nuntio ipsius qui litteras attulerat dici, praesidii causa ipsarum urbium Romanos facere. 7 Lentuli circumeuntes Peloponnesi oppida, cum sine discrimine omnes civitates adhortarentur ut, quo animo qua fide adiuvissent [5] Romanos Philippi primum, deinde Antiochi bello, eodem adversus Persea iuvarent, fremitum in contionibus movebant,[6] 8 Achaeis indignantibus eodem se loco esse, qui omnia a principiis Macedonici belli praestitissent Romanis, quo Messenii atque Elii, qui et Macedonis

[1] populo Romano *add. Weissenborn* : *om.* V.
[2] temptare . . . perliceret *Hartel* : temptaret . . . perligeret V.
[3] Aetolia *Madvig* : aetoliet V.
[4] a *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.
[5] adiuvissent *ed. Lugdunensis* 1553 : adiuuassent V.
[6] movebant *Fuegner* : fremebant V.

[1] On Gentius' state of mind, cf. above ch. xxix. 11, contradicting ch. xxvi. 2.

and the soldiers. Lucius Decimius was sent to B.C. 172 Gentius, king of the Illyrians; if he saw that the king had any regard for friendship with the Roman people, he was ordered to try also to induce him to become an ally in the war.[1] The Lentuli were sent to Cephallania, so that they might cross to the Peloponnese and before winter make the circuit of the coast of the westward sea. To Marcius and Atilius, the task of making the circuit of Epirus, Aetolia and Thessaly was assigned; after that, they were ordered to investigate Boeotia and Euboea, and then to cross to the Peloponnese; there they agreed to meet the Lentuli. Before they left Corcyra, a letter from Perseus was brought them, in which he asked what reason the Romans had for either sending troops over to Greece or garrisoning cities. It was decided not to answer him in writing, but to say to the king's messenger, who had brought the letter, that the Romans were acting for the protection of the cities themselves. As the Lentuli went about the towns of the Peloponnese, exhorting all cities indiscriminately to aid the Romans against Perseus with the same good will and loyalty with which they had assisted them first in the war against Philip, then in that against Antiochus, they aroused an unfriendly murmur in the assemblies, because the Achaeans were angered that they, who had offered every assistance to the Romans from the first beginnings of war against Macedonia,[2] should be placed on a level with the peoples of Messene and Elis, who in

[2] Not quite true; in the First Macedonian War, the Achaeans opposed the Romans, cf. XXVII. xxxii, XXIX. xii. 14; they joined the Romans early in the Second Macedonian War, XXXII. xxiii. 1–3. On the Eleans, cf. XXXVI. xxxv. 7.

A.U.C. 582

Philippi bello hostes fuissent Romanis et pro Antiocho[1] postea arma[2] adversus populum Ro-
9 manum tulissent ac, nuper in Achaicum contributi concilium, velut praemium belli se victoribus Achaeis tradi quererentur.

XXXVIII. Marcius et Atilius ad Gitana, Epiri[3] oppidum, decem milia a[4] mari cum escenderent, concilio Epirotarum habito cum magno omnium assensu auditi sunt; et quadringentos iuventutis eorum in Orestas, ut praesidio essent liberatis ab[5]
2 Macedonibus, miserunt. Inde in Aetoliam progressi ac paucos ibi morati dies, dum in praetoris mortui locum alius sufficeretur, Lycisco[6] praetore facto quem Romanorum favere rebus satis compertum
3 erat, transierunt in Thessaliam. Eo legati Acarnanes et Boetorum exules venerunt. Acarnanes nuntiare iussi quae Philippi primum, Antiochi deinde bello, decepti pollicitationibus regiis, adversus populum Romanum commisissent, ea corri-
4 gendi occasionem illis oblatam. Si male meriti clementiam populi Romani experti essent, bene
5 merendo liberalitatem experirentur. Boeotis expro-

[1] Romanis quo Messenii . . . Antiocho *Vahlen* Macedonis *secludens*: romanis et macedonis philippo bellohostes—fuissent messeni adqueaeli pro anthioco V.
[2] arma *Madvig*: roma V.
[3] Gitana . . . Epiri *Kraschenninnikov*: gitana eripi V.
[4] a *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[5] ab *Drakenborch*: ab se V.
[6] Lycisco *Madvig*: et lycisco V.

[1] The leaders of Epirus belonged to the "wisest" class who favoured a balance of power, and neutrality, as nearly as might be inoffensive to Rome, in the war. The story of how this policy was disturbed by intrigues of Charops, a young man on the make, is told by Polybius (XXVII. 15) but not by Livy.

the war with Philip the Macedonian had been enemies B.C. 172
of the Romans and later had borne arms for Antiochus against the Roman people, and, having been recently assigned to the Achaean League, were complaining that they were being handed over as spoils of war to the victorious Achaeans.

XXXVIII. Marcius and Atilius went up to Gitana, a town of Epirus, ten miles from the sea, called a conference of Epirotes, and were heard with great and universal approval;[1] and they sent four hundred native young men to the Orestans[2] to be a guard for those who had been freed from the Macedonians. Thence the Romans proceeded to Aetolia, and, after a stay of a few days there, while a general was being elected in place of the one who had died, upon the election of Lyciscus,[3] who, it was quite certain, favoured the Roman side, the envoys crossed to Thessaly. There Acarnanian envoys and Boeotian exiles came to them. The Acarnanians were ordered to report that an opportunity had presented itself to them of making amends for the acts of hostility done by them against the Roman people because they had been deceived by the kings' promises, first in the war with Philip, then in that with Antiochus.[4] If, when they had ill deserved it, they had experienced the mercy of the Roman people, let them by deserving well experience the Romans' generosity. The Boeotians were reproached

[2] A tribe on the border of Macedonia and Epirus; they were made independent of Macedonia in 196 B.C., cf. XXXIII. xxxiv. 6.
[3] Polybius XXXII. 4, does not give this leader a good character; cf. Livy XLV. xxviii. 7.
[4] Cf. XXXI. xiv. 9, XXXIII. xvi. 3–4, XXXVI. xi. 8 ff.

A.U.C. 582

bratum societatem eos cum Perseo iunxisse. Cum[1] culpam in Ismeniam, principem alterius partis, conferrent et quasdam civitates dissentientes in causam deductas, appariturum id esse Marcius respondit; singulis enim civitatibus de se ipsis 6 consulendi potestatem facturos. Thessalorum Larisae fuit concilium. Ibi et[2] Thessalis benigna materia gratias agendi Romanis pro libertatis munere fuit, et legatis, quod et Philippi prius et post Antiochi bello enixe adiuti a gente Thessalorum essent. Hac[3] mutua commemoratione meritorum accensi animi 7 multitudinis ad omnia decernenda quae Romani vellent.

8 Secundum hoc concilium legati a Perseo rege venerunt privati maxime hospitii fiducia, quod ei paternum cum Marcio erat. Ab huius necessitudinis commemoratione orsi petierunt legati in colloquium 9 veniendi regi potestatem faceret. Marcius et se ita a patre suo accepisse dixit, amicitiam hospitiumque cum Philippo fuisse, et[4] minime immemorem[5] necessitudinis eius legationem eam suscepisse. 10 Colloquium, si satis commode valeret, non fuisse se dilaturum; nunc, ubi primum posset, ad Peneum flumen, qua transitus ab Homolio Dium[6] esset, praemissis qui nuntiarent regi venturos.

[1] cum *Kreyssig*: eoscum V.
[2] et *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[3] hac *Weissenborn*: aut V.
[4] et *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[5] minime immemorem *Fr.*: minimum memorem V.
[6] ab Homolio Dium *Drakenborch*: abomonodium V.

[1] Cf. below ch. xliii. 7 ff.
[2] This Thessalian League had been set up under Roman auspices, cf. XXXIII. xxxiv. 7 and XXXIV. li. 6.

for having entered into an alliance with Perseus. B.C. 172
When they placed the blame on Ismenias, the leader of the opposite faction, and said that certain cities had been drawn into the affair against their will, Marcius replied that this was about to be made clear; for they were about to give the individual cities an opportunity of providing for their own welfare.[1] A council of the Thessalians was held at Larisa.[2] Both parties found there a pleasant opportunity to express their thanks, the Thessalians for the Romans' gift to them of freedom, and the Roman envoys for the vigorous help from the Thessalian confederacy, first in the war with Philip and again later in that with Antiochus. By this mutual recital of benefits the minds of the gathering were fired to vote everything which the Romans wished.

Following this council, envoys came from King Perseus, relying especially on the personal guest-friendship which existed between his father and the father of Marcius. Beginning with a mention of this relationship, the envoys asked that he give the king the opportunity of coming to confer with him. Marcius said both that he had been told by his father that a relationship of amity and hospitality had existed with Philip, and also that he had been by no means forgetful of this relationship when he undertook this embassy. As for a conference, if he were in sufficiently good health he would not think of deferring it; as it was, they would come, as soon as he was able, to the Peneus river, at the crossing between Homolium and Dium,[3] after sending ahead messengers to inform the king.

[3] That is, at the northern end of the Vale of Tempe.

A.U.C. 582

XXXIX. Et tum quidem ab Dio Perseus in interiora regni recepit[1] se, levi aura spei obiecta quod Marcius ipsius causa suscepisse se legationem dixisset; post dies paucos ad constitutum locum venerunt. Magnus comitatus fuit regius cum amicorum tum satellitum turba stipante. Non minore agmine legati venerunt et ab Larisa multis prosequentibus et legationibus civitatium, quae convenerant Larisam et renuntiare domum certa quae audissent volebant. Inerat cura insita mortalibus videndi congredientes[2] nobilem regem et populi principis terrarum omnium legatos. Ut[3] in conspectu steterunt, dirimente amni, paulisper internuntiando cunctatio fuit utri transgrederentur. Aliquid illi regiae maiestati, aliquid hi[4] populi Romani nomini, cum praesertim Perseus petisset colloquium, existimabant deberi. Ioco etiam Marcius cunctantes[5] movit: "Minor," inquit, "ad maiores et"—quod Philippo ipsi cognomen erat—"filius ad patrem transeat." Facile persuasum id regi est. Aliud deinde ambigebatur, cum quam multis transiret. Rex cum omni comitatu transire aequum censebat; legati vel cum tribus venire iubebant vel, si tantum agmen traduceret, obsides dare nihil fraudis fore in colloquio.

[1] recepit *ed. Parisina* 1573: recipit V.
[2] videndi congredientes *Fr.*: uiuendi congredientibus V.
[3] ut *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[4] hi *add. Fr.*
[5] cunctantes *Fr.*: cunctantibus V.

[1] The *cognomen* was sometimes a personal name, or accepted nickname, sometimes an inherited name indicating a branch

XXXIX. And for the time being Perseus retired from Dium to the interior of his kingdom, a faint breath of hope presenting itself, because Marcius had said he had undertaken the embassy on Perseus' account; a few days later they met at the spot agreed upon. The royal retinue was large, a crowd, both of friends and attendants, thronging about him. With no less a train came the envoys, for many escorted them from Larisa, besides the embassies of certain cities which had assembled at Larisa and wanted to report home facts which they had heard. There was a desire, natural to mankind, to see the meeting of a famous king and the envoys of the people foremost in the whole world. When they stood in sight of each other, with the river between, there was a brief delay for exchange of messages, as to which party should cross over. The one group felt that some consideration was due to the dignity of the king, the other group, to the reputation of the Roman people, especially since Perseus had sought the conference. A jest from Marcius also influenced the undecided: "Let the younger," said he, "cross over to his elders, and"—for his own personal[1] name was Philip—"the son to his father." This solution easily recommended itself to the king. Then another problem arose, as to how large an escort should cross with him. The king thought it proper to cross with his entire suite; the envoys bade him either to come with three attendants, or, if he should bring over so large a train, to give hostages that there would be no treachery during B.C. 172

of the clan or *gens*; in this case, the name dated back at least to Marcius' grandfather, who triumphed in 281 B.C. Most Marcii had Rex as surname.

A.U.C. 582

7 Hippian et Pantauchum,[1] quos et legatos miserat, principes amicorum, obsides dedit. Nec tam in pignus fidei obsides desiderati erant quam ut appareret sociis nequaquam ex dignitate pari congredi 8 regem cum legatis. Salutatio[2] non tamquam hostium, sed hospitalis ac benigna fuit, positisque sedibus consederunt.

XL. Cum paulisper silentium fuisset, "Expectari nos" inquit Marcius "arbitror, ut respondeamus litteris tuis quas Corcyram misisti, in quibus quaeris quid ita legati[3] cum militibus venerimus et praesidia 2 in singulas urbes dimittamus. Ad hanc interrogationem tuam et non respondere vereor, ne superbum sit, et vera respondere ne nimis acerbum audienti 3 tibi videatur. Sed cum aut verbis castigandus aut armis sit qui foedus rumpit, sicut bellum adversus te alii quam mihi mandatum malim, ita orationis acerbitatem adversus hospitem, utcumque est, subibo, sicut medici cum salutis causa tristiora 4 remedia adhibent.[4] Ex quo regnum adeptus es, unam rem te quae facienda fuerit senatus fecisse censet,[5] quod legatos Romam ad renovandum foedus miseris, quod ipsum tamen tibi non fuisse renovandum[6] iudicat potius quam cum renovatum esset violandum. 5 Abrupolim, socium atque amicum populi Romani, regno expulisti; Arthetauri interfectores, ut caede,

[1] Hippian et Pantaucum *Fr.* (-chum *Crévier*): hippian et pantacum V.
[2] salutatio *Fr.*: salutatis V.
[3] ita legati *Fr.*: sitallegatis V.
[4] adhibent *Fr.*: adhibens V.
[5] censet *Fr.*: genset V.
[6] foedus . . . renovandum *add. Sigonius*: *om.* V.

[1] But later he did command the army, XLIII. xv. 3.

the conference. He gave as hostages Hippias and B.C. 172
Pantauchus, his leading friends, whom he had also sent as envoys. However, hostages were not desired so much as a pledge of good faith, as to show the allies that the king was meeting with the envoys on no terms of equality. The greetings were not like those of enemies, but welcoming and kindly, and when seats had been placed, they sat down.

XL. After there had been a silence for a moment, "What is awaited, I suppose," said Marcius, "is a reply from us to your letter which you sent to Corcyra, in which you ask why we have come in this fashion as envoys with soldiers and are sending garrisons to the several cities. I hesitate to make no reply to this inquiry of yours, for fear of acting arrogantly, and also to reply truly, lest the reply seem to you, as you hear it, too harsh. But since one who breaks a treaty must be rebuked either with words or with arms, as on the one hand I should prefer war against you to be entrusted to some other rather than to me,[1] so on the other hand I shall take upon myself the harshness of this speech to a guest-friend, however it may be, as physicians do in applying somewhat painful remedies for the sake of a cure. From the time when you attained the throne the senate believes you have done one thing which you should have done, in that you sent envoys to Rome to renew the treaty; yet even this, the senate considers, you should have failed to renew instead of breaking it after it had been renewed. Abrupolis, the ally and friend of the Roman people, you drove from his kingdom;[2] the assassins of Arthetaurus you

[2] For this and the following accusations, cf. above xiii. 6–8 (speech of Eumenes).

A.U.C. 582

ne quid ultra dicam, te[1] laetatum appareret, recepisti, qui[2] omnium Illyriorum fidissimum Romanis[3] regu-
6 lum occiderant; per Thessaliam et Maliensem agrum cum exercitu contra foedus Delphos isti; Byzantiis item contra foedus[4] misisti auxilia; cum Boeotis sociis[5] nostris, secretam tibi ipsi societatem quam
7 non licebat iureiurando pepigisti; Thebanos legatos, Euersam et Callicritum, venientes ad[6] nos, quaerere malo quis interfecerit quam arguere. In Aetolia[7] bellum intestinum et caedes principum per quos,
8 nisi per tuos, factae videri possunt? Dolopes a te ipso evastati sunt. Eumenes rex, ab Roma cum in regnum rediret, prope ut victima Delphis in sacrato loco ante aras mactatus, quem insimulet piget
9 referre; quae hospes Brundisinus occulta facinora indicet, certum habeo et scripta tibi omnia ab Roma
10 esse et legatos renuntiasse tuos.[8] Haec ne dicerentur a me, uno modo vitare[9] potuisti, non quaerendo quam ob causam exercitus in Macedoniam traicerentur, aut praesidia in sociorum urbes

[1] te *add. H. J. Mueller* : *om.* V.
[2] qui *Fr.* : quiut V.
[3] Romanis *Novák* : romanumii V.
[4] foedus *Fr.* : foedus delphos V.
[5] sociis *Fr.* : sociisoci V.
[6] ad *Madvig* : a V.
[7] Aetolia *Fr.* : aeto V.
[8] tuos *Vahlen* : et legatos tuos V.
[9] vitare *Fr.* : uidere V.

[1] Cf. note 2, p. 397; Marcius has Perseus going in the reverse direction, cf. below ch. xlii. 1 and note 2.
[2] A straining of the provision against waging war, XXXIII. xxx. 6.

sheltered, so that it was obvious that you rejoiced, B.C. 172 to say nothing more, in the crime of those who had killed the prince most faithful of all the Illyrians to Rome; you went to Delphi with an army through Thessalian and Malian territory, contrary to the treaty;[1] again, you sent help to the Byzantines, contrary to the treaty;[2] you pledged by oath a secret alliance between yourself and the Boeotians, our allies, which was not permitted;[3] as for the Theban envoys, Eversa and Callicritus, who were on their way to us, I prefer to ask who killed them than to make an accusation. In Aetolia, who, if not your men, can seem to have brought about the civil war and slaughter of leading men?[4] The Dolopians were utterly ravaged by you yourself.[5] King Eumenes, on his return from Rome to his kingdom, was almost slaughtered like a beast for sacrifice on consecrated ground before the altars of Delphi—and I am reluctant to mention whom he accuses[6]; about the secret crimes of which your guest-friend at Brundisium informs us,[7] I am sure that everything has been written you from Rome and also that your own envoys have reported. You could have avoided my saying these things in one way, and that was by not asking for what reason armies were being brought across to Macedonia or why we were sending garri-

[3] No statement of this prohibition appears in either Livy's account of the treaty (XXXIII. xxx) or Polybius' (XVIII. 44), but it was standard Roman practice in the case of dependent cities to forbid them to make treaties with each other. Cf. VIII. xiv. 10.
[4] Cf. XLI. xxv. 1–6, XLII. v. 7.
[5] Cf. XLI. xxii. 4.
[6] Cf. above ch. xv. 3 ff.
[7] Cf. above ch. xvii. 2 ff.

A.U.C. 582

mitteremus. Quaerenti tibi superbius tacuissemus
11 quam vera respondimus. Equidem pro paterno nostro hospitio faveo orationi tuae et opto ut aliquid mihi materiae[1] praebeas agendae tuae apud senatum causae."

XLI. Ad ea rex: "Bonam causam, si apud iudices aequos ageretur, apud eosdem et accusatores et
2 iudices agam.[2] Eorum autem quae obiecta sunt mihi, partim ea sunt, quibus nescio an gloriari debeam, neque[3] quae fateri erubescam, partim quae
3 verbo obiecta verbo negare satis[4] sit. Quid enim, si legibus vestris hodie reus sim, aut index Brundisinus aut Eumenes mihi obiciat, ut accusare potius
4 vere quam conviciari videantur? Scilicet nec Eumenes, cum tam multis gravis[5] publice ac privatim sit, alium quam me inimicum habuit; neque ego potiorem quemquam ad ministeria facinorum quam Rammium, quem neque umquam ante videram
5 nec eram postea visurus, invenire potui. Et Thebanorum, quos naufragio perisse constat, et Arthetauri caedis mihi reddenda ratio est; in qua tamen nihil ultra obicitur, quam interfectores eius in regno
6 exulasse[6] meo. Cuius condicionis iniquitatem ita non sum recusaturus,[7] si vos quoque accipitis ut, quicumque exules in Italiam aut Romam se contule-

[1] materiae *Hertz*: materiem V.
[2] agam *Fr.*: agant V.
[3] neque *Vahlen*: ea (*sic*) V.
[4] satis *add. Hearne*: *om.* V.
[5] gravis *Fr.*: grauidae V.
[6] exulasse *Fr.*: exsolasse V.
[7] sum recusaturus *Fr.*: sumere accusaturus V.

[1] Appian IX. xi. 5–8, puts a speech to the same effect in the mouths of Perseus' envoys (cf. below ch. xlviii. 1–2), including a detailed refutation of Rammius' charge.

sons to the cities of our allies. Since you did inquire, B.C. 172
we should have been more arrogant in keeping silence than we are in replying truthfully. Indeed, on account of our inherited guest-friendship, I am eager to hear what you have to say and hope that you will give me some foundation for pleading your cause before the senate."

XLI. To this the king replied: "A cause, which would be good if it were pled before impartial judges, I shall plead before men who are at once accusers and judges. However, of the charges made against me, some are such that I should perhaps boast of them, not such that I should blush to confess them, others are such that, since they are made in a word, it is enough to deny them in a word.[1] For with what, if I should be a defendant to-day under your laws, could either the informer at Brundisium or Eumenes charge me, so that they might seem truly to accuse me rather than to revile me? Doubtless Eumenes, although he is offensive to so many people because of personal reasons or those of state,[2] had no other enemy than me! Nor could I find anyone superior as a tool in crime to Rammius, whom I had never seen previously nor was to see afterwards! Even for the Thebans, who, it is known, perished by shipwreck, and for the murder of Arthetaurus I must give an accounting! In this latter case, however, no charge is brought against me except that his assassins went into exile in my kingdom. The unfairness of this situation I shall not protest, on condition that you too agree that whenever exiles betake themselves to Italy or Rome you will confess

[2] A similar charge in ch. xiv. 8 above; ch. v. 5, gives the Roman view.

A.U.C. 582

runt, his facinorum, propter quae damnati sunt,
7 auctores vos fuisse fateamini. Si hoc et vos recusabitis et omnes aliae gentes, ego quoque inter ceteros ero. Et hercule, quid attinet cuiquam exilium patere,
8 si nusquam exuli futurus locus est? Ego tamen istos, ut primum in Macedonia esse admonitus a vobis comperi, requisitos abire ex regno iussi et in per-
9 petuum interdixi finibus meis. Et haec quidem mihi tamquam causam dicenti reo obiecta sunt; illa tamquam regi et quae de foedere quod mihi est vobis-
10 cum disceptationem habeant. Nam si est in foedere ita scriptum ut ne si bellum quidem quis inferat, tueri me regnumque meum liceat, mihi fatendum est quod me armis adversus Abrupolim, socium populi Romani, defenderim, foedus violatum esse.
11 Sin autem hoc et[1] ex foedere licuit et iure gentium ita comparatum est ut arma armis propulsentur, quid tandem me facere decuit, cum Abrupolis fines mei regni usque ad Amphipolim pervastasset, multa libera capita, magnam vim mancipiorum, multa
12 milia pecorum abegisset? Quiescerem et paterer, donec Pellam et in regiam meam armatus pervenisset? At enim bello quidem iusto sum persecutus,[2] sed vinci non oportuit eum neque alia quae[3] victis accidunt pati; quorum casum cum ego subierim, qui sum[4] armis lacessitus, quid potest queri sibi

[1] et *Fr.*: est V.
[2] sum persecutus *Fr.*: sumpserecuius V.
[3] alia quae *Kreyssig*: aliquae V.
[4] sum *Fr.*: sub V.

that you were sponsors of the crimes for which they B.C. 172
have been condemned. If both you and all other peoples will protest against this, I too shall be among the others. And, heavens, what use is there for exile to be allowed to anyone, if there is to be nowhere room for the fugitive? However, as soon as I had learned, on advices from you, that these men were in Macedonia, I had them searched out, ordered them to depart from my kingdom, and banished them forever from my territory. And these charges have been made against me as if I were a prisoner at the bar; the other charges are made as against a king, and are such as to involve interpretation of the treaty between you and me. For if it is written in the treaty that I may not be permitted to protect myself and my kingdom, even if someone attacks me, then I must confess that, inasmuch as I have defended myself with arms against Abrupolis, an ally of the Roman people, the treaty has been broken. But if, on the other hand, it is both permitted by the treaty and is arranged by the law of nations that arms may be beaten back by arms, what, pray, was it proper for me to do when Abrupolis devastated the confines of my kingdom even to Amphipolis, and carried off many free persons, a great abundance of slaves, and many thousand cattle? Should I have kept quiet and suffered, until he came armed to Pella and into my palace? But, you say, I proceeded against him in a just war indeed, but he should not have been conquered, nor have suffered the further consequences which befall the conquered; since I, who was assailed with arms, suffered the misfortune of like disasters, how can he who was the cause of the war complain that they

A.U.C. 582

13 accidisse, qui causa belli fuit? Non sum eodem modo defensurus, Romani, quod Dolopas armis coercuerim; quia, etsi non merito eorum, iure feci meo, cum mei regni, meae dicionis essent, vestro decreto
14 patri attributi meo. Nec, si causa reddenda sit, non vobis nec foederatis,[1] sed iis qui ne[2] in servos quidem saeva atque iniusta imperia probant, plus aequo et bono saevisse in eos videri possum; quippe Euphranorem, praefectum a me impositum, ita occiderunt ut mors[3] poenarum eius levissima fuerit.

XLII. At cum processissem inde ad visendas Larisam et Antronas et Pteleon,[4] qua in propinquo Delphi sunt,[5] sacrificandi causa, ut[6] multo ante
2 debita vota persolverem, Delphos escendi. Et his, criminis augendi causa, cum exercitu me isse[7] adicitur; scilicet ut, quod nunc vos facere queror, urbes occuparem, arcibus imponerem[8] praesidia.
3 Vocate in concilium Graeciae civitates per quas iter feci, queratur unusquilibet militis mei iniuriam; non recusabo quin simulato sacrificio aliud petisse videar.
4 Aetolis et Byzantiis praesidia misimus et cum Boeotis amicitiam fecimus. Haec, qualiacumque sunt, per

[1] foederatis *Fr.*: foederi V.
[2] ne *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[3] mors *Fr.*: mores V.
[4] Pteleon *Ruperti*: pycleon V.
[5] Delphi sunt *Vahlen*: delphis V.
[6] ut *add. Vahlen*: *om.* V.
[7] me isse *Kreyssig*: messe V.
[8] imponerem *Fr.*: opponere V.

[1] According to Appian (*loc. cit.*) the Romans had accepted Perseus' explanation of this incident and renewed the treaty with him after it.

happened to him?[1] I will not use the same defence, B.C. 172
Romans, for having checked the Dolopians with arms; since, even had they not deserved it, I acted within my rights, since they were in my kingdom and under my sway, having been assigned by your decree to my father. Moreover, if it were proper for me to give an accounting, I could not seem, I will not say to you and your allies, but even to those who do not approve harsh and unjust exercise of authority even over slaves, to have exceeded justice and virtue in punishing them; inasmuch as they killed Euphranor, the governor placed over them by me, in such fashion that death would have been the lightest of vengeance for him.

XLII. "But when I proceeded thence to see Larisa and Antronae and Pteleon,[2] by a way near which is Delphi, I went up to Delphi to offer sacrifice in order to pay vows long overdue. And to this charge—that the accusation may be greater—is added the further charge that I went with an army; as if indeed it was in order to seize cities, as I now am complaining of your doing, and to place garrisons in the citadels. Call to conference the cities of Greece through which I made my way, let any single person complain of injury from a soldier of mine; I shall not protest against being thought to have, by a pretence of sacrifice, sought ulterior ends. To the Aetolians and Byzantines we have sent military forces, and with the Boeotians we have made a treaty of friendship. These acts, such as they are, have been

[2] These cities were in south-eastern Thessaly; Perseus took a somewhat indirect route to them, which, however, avoided hostile Thessaly and probably included the friendly cities in Boeotia. Cf. above, n. 2, p. 397.

A.U.C. 582

legatos meos non solum indicata sed etiam excusata sunt saepe in senatu vestro, ubi aliquos ego disceptatores non tam aequos quam te, Q.[1] Marci, paternum amicum et hospitem, habebam. Sed nondum Romam accusator Eumenes venerat, qui calumniando[2] omnia detorquendoque suspecta et invisa efficeret et persuadere vobis conaretur, non posse Graeciam in libertate esse et vestro munere frui, quoad regnum Macedoniae incolume esset. Circumagetur hic orbis; erit mox, qui arguat nequiquam Antiochum ultra iuga Tauri emotum;[3] graviorem multo Asiae quam[4] Antiochus fuerit, Eumenen esse;[5] conquiescere socios vestros non posse quoad regia Pergami sit; eam arcem supra capita finitimarum civitatium impositam. Ego haec, Q. Marci et A. Atili, quae aut a vobis obiecta aut purgata a me sunt, talia esse scio ut aures, ut animi audientium sint, nec tam referre, quid ego aut qua mente fecerim quam quomodo id vos factum accipiatis. Conscius mihi sum nihil me scientem deliquisse, et, si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrigi me et emendari castigatione hac posse. Nihil certe insanabile nec quod bello et armis persequendum esse censeatis commisi; aut frustra clementiae gravitatisque vestrae fama volgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quae vix querella et expostulatione dignae[6] sunt, arma capitis et regibus sociis bella infertis."

XLIII. Haec dicenti ei cum assensum esset,[7]

[1] te Q. *Fr.*: teque V. [2] calumniando *Fr.*: calumiain V.
[3] iuga Tauri emotum *J. F. Gronovius*: legatauremotum V.
[4] graviorem . . . quam *Fr.*: grauiore—quequam V.
[5] Eumenem esse *Fr.*: Eumene necesse V.
[6] expostulatione dignae *Fr.*: postulatione digna V.
[7] haec dicenti ei cum adsensum esset *Harant*: et dicentem et cum adsensum V.

B.C. 172

frequently not only announced but even defended by my envoys in your senate, where I usually found certain critics not as fair-minded as you, Quintus Marcius, a friend and guest by inheritance. But Eumenes had not as yet come to Rome as accuser, in order by slandering and distorting everything to arouse general suspicion and hatred and to try to persuade you that it is impossible for Greece to be free and to enjoy your bounty as long as the kingdom of Macedonia is intact. This argument will be brought around full circle; soon there will be one to charge that Antiochus was to no avail driven beyond the range of Taurus; a far worse tyrant over Asia than Antiochus had been exists in Eumenes; your allies cannot take their ease as long as the palace of Pergamum stands; that looms like a citadel over the heads of neighbouring states. I am aware, Quintus Marcius and Aulus Atilius, that these charges which have either been made by you or answered by me are such as the ears and minds of the hearers are, and that it does not so much matter what I have done or with what intent as how you will receive the action. I am confident that I have done no wrong knowingly and that if I have done anything through an unintentional slip, I can be corrected and bettered by this rebuke. Certainly I have done nothing irreparable, nor such that you should think it must be avenged by war and arms; or else the fame of your mercy and poise has been spread abroad among the nations all in vain, if for such causes, which are hardly worthy of complaint and protest, you rush to arms and declare war on your royal allies."

XLIII. When applause had followed this speech,

A.U.C. 582

Marcius auctor fuit mittendi Romam legatos;[1] cum experienda omnia ad ultimum nec praetermittendam spem ullam censuisset rex,[2] reliqua consultatio erat, quonam modo tutum iter legatis
2 esset. Ad id cum[3] necessaria petitio indutiarum videretur cuperetque Marcius neque aliud colloquio petisset, gravate et in[4] magnam gratiam petentis
3 concessit. Nihil enim satis paratum ad bellum in praesentia habebant Romani, non exercitum, non ducem, cum Perseus, ni spes vana pacis occaecasset consilia, omnia praeparata atque instructa haberet[5] et suo maxime tempore atque alieno hostibus incipere bellum posset.

4 Ab hoc colloquio, fide indutiarum interposita, legati
5 Romani in Boeotiam confestim profecti[6] sunt. Ibi motus coeperat esse discedentibus a societate[7] communis concilii Boeotorum quibusdam populis, ex quo renuntiatum erat respondisse legatos appariturum, quibus populis proprie societatem cum rege iungi
6 displicuisset. Primi a Chaeronia legati deinde a Thebis[8] in ipso itinere occurrerunt, affirmantes non interfuisse se, quo societas ea decreta esset concilio; quos[9] legati, nullo in praesentia responso dato,
7 Chalcidem se sequi iusserunt. Thebis magna contentio orta erat ex alio certamine. Comitiis praetoris et Boeotarcharum[10] victa pars iniuriam persequens

[1] legatos *Harant*: legati essent V.
[2] rex *add. Harant*: *om.* V. [3] cum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] et in *Fr.*: etiam V. [5] haberet *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[6] confestim profecti *Giarratano*: conparati V.
[7] discedentibus a societate *Fr.*: descendentibus in societatem V.
[8] a Thebis *Fr.*: athenis V.
[9] quos *J. F. Gronovius*: hquis (*sic*) V.
[10] praetoris et Boeotarcharum *Niese*: praetoris boetarum V.

Marcius proposed his sending envoys to Rome; B.C. 172 since the king believed that every recourse should be tried to the very last and no hope be overlooked, the rest of the conference was on means of safety for the envoys' journey. Although for this a request for a truce was clearly essential and Marcius was eager for it and was seeking for nothing else at the conference, he granted it grudgingly and as a great favour to the petitioner. For the Romans had nothing thoroughly ready for war at this time, neither army nor leader, while Perseus, had not an idle hope of peace blinded his counsels, would have had everything ready and on hand and could have begun the war at a time most favourable to himself and inopportune for the enemy.

From this conference the Roman envoys, relying on the truce as security, at once set out for Boeotia.[1] In that region there already had begun to be disturbance as certain peoples departed from association in the common council of the Boeotians, after the report had come that the envoys had answered that it would become evident which peoples for their own part disliked the forming of an alliance with the king. First envoys from Chaeronia, then from Thebes, met the Romans while still on the way, asserting that they had not been present in the council in which this alliance had been voted; the Roman envoys, giving them no answer for the time being, ordered them to follow them to Chalcis. At Thebes a great dispute arose from a different rivalry. The party beaten in the election for general and the Governors of Boeotia, by way of avenging their

[1] Cf. Polybius XXVII. 1–2.

A.U.C. 583

coacta multitudine decretum Thebis fecit ne Boeotarchae[1] urbibus reciperentur. Exules Thespias
8 universi concesserunt; inde—recepti enim sine cunctatione erant—Thebas iam mutatis animis revocati decretum faciunt, ut duodecim, qui privati coetum et concilium habuissent, exilio multarentur.
9 Novus deinde praetor—Ismenias is erat, vir nobilis ac potens—capitalis poenae absentes eos decreto damnat. Chalcidem fugerant; inde ad Romanos Larisam profecti causam cum Perseo societatis in Ismeniam contulerant; ex ea[2] contentione ortum
10 certamen. Utriusque tum[3] partis legati ad Romanos venerunt, et exules accusatoresque Ismeniae et Ismenias ipse.

XLIV. Chalcidem ut ventum est, aliarum civitatium principes, id quod maxime gratum erat Romanis, suo quique[4] proprio decreto regiam[5] societatem aspernati Romanis se adiungebant; Ismenias gentem Boeotorum in fidem Romanorum permitti aequum
2 censebat. Inde certamine orto, nisi in tribunal legatorum perfugisset, haud multum afuit quin ab
3 exulibus fautoribusque eorum interficeretur. Thebae quoque ipsae, quod Boeotiae caput est, in magno motu[6] erant, aliis ad regem trahentibus civitatem,

[1] fecit ne Boeotarchae *Fr.*: sine bello (*in ras.*) et arce V.
[2] ea *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[3] tum *Wesenberg*: tamen V.
[4] quique *Fr.*: quoque V.
[5] regiam *Weissenborn*: propriam V.
[6] magno motu *Kreyssig*: magnotu V.

[1] Cf. above xxxviii. 5.

rebuff, gathered a mob and passed a vote at Thebes B.C. 172 that the Governors be not received in the cities. The exiles all departed to Thespiae; from there—for they had been received without hesitation—they were recalled, by a change of sentiment, to Thebes and passed a decree that twelve men who though private citizens had held an assembly and council should be punished by exile. Next, the new general —he was Ismenias, a man of rank and power—by decree in their absence condemned these men to death. They fled to Chalcis; thence they set out to the Romans at Larisa[1] and brought a charge of alliance with Perseus against Ismenias; from this dispute, they said, the contest had arisen. Envoys of both factions came at that time to the Romans, both the exiles and accusers of Ismenias, and Ismenias himself.

XLIV. When the party arrived at Chalcis, a thing very pleasing to the Romans occurred, for the chief men of the other states each by their own particular decree rejected the alliance with the king and associated themselves with the Romans; Ismenias thought it proper to put the Boeotian League in the care of the Romans.[2] Thereupon a dispute arose, and save that he escaped to the headquarters[3] of the Roman envoys, Ismenias lacked little of meeting his death at the hands of the exiles and their partisans. Thebes itself, the capital of Boeotia, was also in a great uproar, as some urged the city toward the king,

[2] As Polybius XXVII. 1. 2–3 points out, this was unacceptable to the Romans, who wanted to destroy the Boeotian League (cf. 6 below).

[3] The exact meaning of *tribunal* (usually, an official platform) here is uncertain; Polybius l. 6 speaks of δίθυρα (lit. double doors) translated " porch " by Paton, L.C.L.

A.U.C. 582

4 aliis ad Romanos; et turba Coronaeorum Haliartiorumque convenerat ad defendendum decretum regiae societatis. Sed constantia principum docentium cladibus Philippi Antiochique, quanta esset vis et fortuna imperii Romani, victa tandem [1] multitudo et, ut tolleretur regia societas decrevit, et eos, qui auctores paciscendae amicitiae fuerant, ad satisfaciendum legatis Chalcidem misit fideique legatorum 5 commendari civitatem iussit. Thebanos Marcius et Atilius laeti audierunt auctoresque et his et [2] separatim singulis fuerunt ad renovandam amicit- 6 iam mittendi Romam legatos. Ante omnia exules restitui iusserunt et auctores regiae societatis decreto suo damnarunt. Ita, quod maxime volebant, discusso Boeotico concilio in Peloponnesum [3] pro- 7 ficiscuntur Ser. Cornelio Chalcidem accersito.[4] Argis [5] praebitum est iis concilium; ubi nihil [6] aliud a gente Achaeorum petierunt quam ut mille milites darent. 8 Id praesidium ad Chalcidem tuendam, dum Romanus exercitus in Graeciam traiceretur, missum est. Marcius et Atilius peractis quae agenda in Graecia erant principio hiemis Romam redierunt.

[1] tandem *Madvig*: eadem V.
[2] et *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[3] in Peloponnesum *Madvig*: ponnensum V.
[4] accersito *Fr.*: arcersito V.
[5] Argis *Fr.*: argi V.
[6] nihil *Fr.*: res V. *post* res *lacunam susp. viri docti.*

[1] According to Polybius XXVII l. 9 Olympichus of Coronea swung over to the Roman side, and carried the assembly with him; Livy trusts the upper classes, and suspects the worst of the commons, cf. e.g. above ch. xxx. 1; the attitude is that adopted by the Romans as a principle of provincial management.

others toward the Romans; and a mob from Coronea B.C. 172 and Haliartus had assembled to defend the vote of alliance with the king. But due to the steadfastness of the chief men [1] in demonstrating by the disasters which had befallen Philip and Antiochus how great was the might and good fortune of the Roman State, the commons were at length overcome and voted to cancel the alliance with the king, besides sending to Chalcis those who had been sponsors of sanctioning the friendly relations to make amends to the envoys, and ordering that the city be recommended to the care of the envoys. Marcius and Atilius heard the Thebans with joy and recommended both to these and severally to the various others that they send envoys to Rome to renew friendly relations. First of all they ordered that the exiles be restored, and condemned by their own decree the sponsors of alliance with the king.[2] Thus having obtained their fondest desire, the disruption of the Boeotian League, they set out for the Peloponnese after summoning Servius Cornelius to Chalcis. An assembly was called for them at Argos;[3] there they asked nothing of the Achaean League but the contribution of one thousand soldiers. This garrison was sent to guard Chalcis [4] until the Roman army could be brought over to Greece. Marcius and Atilius, having accomplished their mission in Greece, as winter came on returned to Rome.

[2] According to Polybius XXVII. 2. 8–9, Ismenias and Dicetas were imprisoned and committed suicide; Neon, the third pro-Macedonian leader, escaped to Macedonia.
[3] Cf. Polybius, *loc. cit.*, 11.
[4] Chalcis was one of the three "fetters of Greece," cf. XXXI. xxiii. 11–12, XXXII. xxxvii. 3, XXXIII. xxxi. 4 and 11, XXXV. xxxiv. 4.

A.U.C. 583

XLV. Inde legatio sub idem tempus in Asiam et[1] circum insulas missa. Tres erant legati, Ti. Claudius, Sp. Postumius, M. Iunius. Ii circumeuntes hortabantur socios ad suscipiendum adversus Persea pro[2] Romanis bellum; et, quo quaeque opulentior civitas erat eo accuratius agebant, quia minores secuturae maiorum auctoritatem erant. Rhodii maximi ad omnia momenti habebantur, quia non fovere[3] tantum, sed adiuvare etiam[4] viribus suis bellum poterant, quadraginta navibus auctore Hegesilocho praeparatis; qui cum in summo magistratu esset—prytanin ipsi vocant—multis orationibus pervicerat Rhodios, ut omissa quam saepe vanam[5] experti essent, regum fovendorum spe Romanam societatem, unam tum[6] in terris vel viribus vel fide stabilem, retinerent. Bellum imminere cum[7] Perseo; desideraturos Romanos eundem navalem apparatum quem nuper Antiochi, quem Philippi ante bello vidissent. Trepidaturos tum repente paranda classe cum mittenda esset nisi reficere naves, nisi instruere navalibus sociis coepissent. Id eo magis enixe[8]

[1] et *add. Duker* : *om.* V.
[2] pro *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.
[3] fovere *Kreyssig* : fauere V.
[4] adiuvare etiam *Fr.* : adiuuarent V.
[5] vanam *Fr.* : una V.
[6] societatem unam tum *Fr.* : societationem una tum V.
[7] imminere cum *Fr.* : imminerentum V.
[8] Id eo magis enixe *Fr.* : eoagirenixae V.

[1] Polybius XXVII. 3. This is perhaps the same embassy mentioned above, ch. xix. 7.

XLV. Thence an embassy had been sent during this time to Asia and among the islands.[1] There were three envoys, Tiberius Claudius, Spurius Postumius and Marcus Junius. These went about exhorting the allies to undertake war against Perseus on the side of the Romans; and the richer any given city was the more painstakingly they negotiated there, because the lesser cities would follow the leadership of the greater. The Rhodians were considered of the greatest importance in everything, because they could not only embrace the war, but assist in it, too, with their forces, since forty ships had been made ready, on motion of Hegesilochus; this man, who held the chief magistracy—their own title is *prytanis*[2]—had by numerous speeches won over the Rhodians to give up the hope, which they had repeatedly discovered to be idle, of currying favour with kings, and to keep the alliance with Rome, the only alliance in the world at that time which was secure whether through power or trustworthiness. War with Perseus, said Hegesilochus, was imminent; the Romans would call for the same naval force which they had recently seen in the war with Antiochus, and previously in that with Philip.[3] The Rhodians would be in a panic over the sudden need to prepare a fleet at the time it should be sent, if they did not begin to refit their ships and equip them with sailors. This they must do with the greater vigour in order to

B.C. 172

[2] This officer seems to have been chief executive for six months, two *prytaneis* being in office for the year, cf. Polybius XXVII. 7. 2 and XXIX. 10.
[3] Cf. XXXI. xlvii. 3; XXXII. xvi. 6; XXXVI. xlv. 5; XXXVII. ix. 5; xxii. 1–2; xxx for participation by the Rhodians in Roman campaigns.

A.U.C. 582

faciundum esse ut crimina delata ab Eumene fide
7 rerum refellerent. His incitati quadraginta navium classem instructam ornatamque legatis Romanis advenientibus, ut non expectatam adhortationem
8 esse appareret, ostenderunt. Et haec legatio magnum ad conciliandos animos civitatium Asiae momentum fuit. Decimius unus sine ullo effectu, captarum etiam pecuniarum ab regibus Illyriorum suspicione infamis, Romam redit.

XLVI. Perseus, cum ab[1] colloquio Romanorum in Macedoniam recepisset sese, legatos Romam de incohatis[2] cum Marcio condicionibus pacis misit; et Byzantium et Rhodum et . . .[3] legatis
2 ferendas dedit. In litteris eadem sententia ad omnes erat, collocutum se cum Romanorum legatis; quae audisset quaeque dixisset, ita disposita, ut superior
3 fuisse in disceptatione videri posset. Apud Rhodios legati adiecerunt[4] confidere pacem futuram; auctoribus enim Marcio atque Atilio missos Romam legatos.[5] Si pergerent Romani contra foedus movere bellum, tum omni gratia, omni ope[6] nitendum fore Rhodiis
4 ut reconcilient pacem; si nihil deprecando proficiant, id agendum, ne omnium rerum ius ac potestas ad unum populum perveniat. Cum ceterorum id interesse, tum praecipue Rhodiorum, quo[7] plus inter

[1] ab *Kreyssig*: ad V.
[2] de incohatis *Fr.*: deincohortis V.
[3] *lacunam indicant edd. fere universi.*
[4] adiecerunt *Novák*: assederunt V.
[5] Romam legatos *Fr.*: romanos V.
[6] ope *Fr.*: opepe V.
[7] quo *Crévier*: qui V.

refute by the proof of actions the accusations brought B.C. 172
by Eumenes. Aroused by these arguments, they displayed to the Roman envoys on their arrival, so that it might be evident that they had not waited to be urged, a fleet of forty ships prepared and equipped. This embassy, moreover, had great weight in winning the allegiance of the states of Asia. Decimius alone returned to Rome without accomplishing anything, and disgraced by the suspicion of having even solicited bribes from the Illyrian kings.

XLVI. When Perseus had returned to Macedonia from his conference with the Romans, he sent to Rome envoys about the terms of peace outlined with Marcius; also to Byzantium and Rhodes . . . he gave the envoys [letters] to present.[1] In the letters the same sentiments were expressed to all, namely, that he had conferred with envoys from Rome; what he had heard and what he had said had turned out to be such that he might seem to have had the better of the discussion. Before the Rhodians[2] the envoys added that the king was sure there would be peace; for at the suggestion of Marcius and Atilius envoys had been sent to Rome. If the Romans continued to stir up war contrary to the treaty, then the Rhodians must strive with all their resources of friendly influence to bring peace again; if they did not succeed with their entreaties, they must act to prevent authority and power over everything coming into the hands of a single people. This was to the interest both of all states and especially of the Rhodians, in proportion as they were outstanding

[1] Names of other cities may have fallen out; "letters" is an obvious inference from the context.
[2] With this chapter cf. Polybius XXVII. 4.

A.U.C. 582

alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant; quae serva atque obnoxia fore, si[1] nullus alio sit quam ad Romanos respectus. Magis et litterae et verba legatorum benigne sunt audita quam momentum ad mutandos animos habuerunt; potentior esse partis melioris auctoritas coeperat. Responsum ex decreto est optare pacem Rhodios; si bellum esset, ne quid ab Rhodiis speraret aut peteret rex, quod veterem amicitiam, multis magnisque meritis pace belloque partam, diiungeret sibi ac[2] Romanis. Ab Rhodo redeuntes Boeotiae quoque civitates, et Thebas et Coroneam et Haliartum, adierunt, quibus expressum invitis existimabatur ut relicta regia societate Romanis adiungerentur. Thebani nihil moti sunt, quamquam[3] et damnatis principibus et restitutis exulibus suscensebant Romanis. Coronaei et Haliartii, favore quodam insito in reges, legatos in Macedoniam miserunt praesidium petentes, quo se adversus impotentem superbiam Thebanorum tueri possint. Cui legationi responsum ab rege est, praesidium se propter indutias cum Romanis factas mittere non

[1] fore si *Fr.*: fores V.
[2] ac *Madvig*: ab V.
[3] quamquam *Novák*: et quamquam nihil V.

[1] Polybius, *loc. cit.*, puts at this point a loftier reason—that the Rhodians especially valued their own independence and the freedom of Greece: ὅσῳ γὰρ πλεῖον ὀρέγονται τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας καὶ διατελοῦσι προστατοῦντες . . . τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.

[2] Polybius uses the corresponding adjective τοῦ βελτίονος; such adjectives are likely in Greek and Roman literature to connote the conservative aristocracy, or upper class.

[3] A separate embassy, according to Polybius.

[4] Polybius XXVII. 5 does not mention the Thebans, but speaks of the embassy going to Thisbe, as well as Coronea and Haliartus. In view of this, and of the apparently unchallenged dominance of the pro-Roman party at Thebes (cf. secs. 9–10 below), it seems certain that Livy, either because of a faulty MS., or because of his own slip, read Θήβας for Θίσβας in Polybius, and should not have brought Thebes in at this point.

among other states in position and resources;[1] these blessings would be enslaved and in bondage, if there were no recourse to anyone but the Romans. The friendly hearing given to the letter and the words of the envoys was greater than the weight they had in changing the Rhodians' minds; the influence of the better[2] party began to be the stronger. The reply as voted was that the Rhodians hoped for peace; if there were war, the king must not expect or ask anything of the Rhodians which would destroy between them and the Romans the ancient friendship, cemented by many great services in peace and war. On the way back from Rhodes,[3] the envoys also approached the cities of Boeotia, not only Thebes but also Coronea and Haliartus, for it was believed that their desertion of the alliance with the king and adhesion to the Romans had been forced upon them against their will. The Thebans were not at all moved, although, both for the condemnation of the chief men and the restoration of the exiles, they were angry with the Romans.[4] The peoples of Coronea and Haliartus, through some inborn prejudice in favour of kings, sent envoys to Macedonia asking for a garrison, by which they might protect themselves against the reckless insolence of the Thebans. To this embassy the king's reply was, that because of the truce made with the Romans he could not send them a garrison; however,

B.C. 172

A.U.C. 582

posse; tamen ita suadere ab[1] Thebanorum iniuriis qua possent ut se vindicarent, ne Romanis praeberent causam in se saeviendi.

XLVII. Marcius et Atilius Romam cum venissent, legationem in Capitolio ita renuntiarunt ut nulla re magis gloriarentur quam decepto per indutias et 2 spem pacis rege. Adeo enim apparatibus belli fuisse instructum, ipsis nulla parata re, ut omnia opportuna loca praeoccupari ante ab eo potuerint 3 quam exercitus in Graeciam traiceretur. Spatio autem indutiarum sumpto aequum bellum[2] venturum: illum nihilo paratiorem, Romanos omnibus instructiores rebus coepturos bellum. Boeotorum quoque se concilium arte distraxisse[3] ne coniungi 4 amplius ullo consensu Macedonibus possent. Haec ut summa ratione acta magna pars senatus approbabat;[4] veteres et moris antiqui memores negabant se in ea legatione Romanas agnoscere artes.

5 Non per insidias et nocturna proelia, nec simulatam fugam improvisosque ad incautum hostem reditus, nec ut astu magis quam vera virtute gloriarentur, bella[5] maiores gessisse: indicere prius quam gerere solitos bella, denuntiare etiam interdum pugnam et

[1] ab *Kreyssig*: ad V.
[2] aequum (aecum) bellum *Fuegner*: haecum V.
[3] distraxisse *Fr.*: distraxissent V.
[4] approbabat *Fr.*: adprobat V.
[5] bella *Fr.*: bella magis quam V.

[1] Livy's central theme is the old Roman character and its decline and fall (Preface, 9); his patriotism does not blind

he advised them to protect themselves as best they might against the injustice of the Thebans in such a way as not to offer the Romans an excuse for harshness against them. B.C. 172

XLVII. When Marcius and Atilius had arrived in Rome, in the Capitol they reported about their embassy, emphasizing nothing as a greater achievement than the deception of the king by the truce and the hope of peace. For he had been, they said, so equipped with apparatus for war, while the Romans had made no preparations, that all the commanding places might have been seized by him before an army could be sent over to Greece. However, with the time consumed by the truce, the war would be waged on even terms; he would be in no way better prepared, and the Romans would start the war better equipped in everything. Also they had subtly disrupted the Boeotian League, they said, so that the Boeotians could no longer be joined by any common action to the Macedonians. These actions a large part of the senate approved as having been done with great wisdom; the older men and those mindful of ancient custom said they did not recognize in this embassy the ways of Rome.[1]

" Not by ambushes and battles by night," they thought, " nor by pretended flight and unexpected return to an enemy off his guard, nor in such a way as to boast of cunning rather than real bravery, did our ancestors wage war; they were accustomed to declare war before they waged it, and even at times to announce a battle and specify the place in which

him to certain lapses from the traditional standard, cf. e.g. IX. xi; cf. also Diodorus XXX. 7.

A.U.C. 582

6 locum[1] finire, in quo dimicaturi essent. Eadem fide indicatum Pyrrho regi medicum vitae eius insidiantem; eadem Faliscis vinctum traditum prodi-
7 torem liberorum; religionis haec Romanae[2] esse, non versutiarum Punicarum neque calliditatis Graecae, apud quos[3] fallere hostem quam vi superare gloriosius
8 fuerit. Interdum in praesens tempus plus profici dolo quam virtute; sed eius demum animum in perpetuum vinci, cui confessio expressa sit se neque

[1] pugnam et locum *Kreyssig*: *om.* V. *Alii alia*: diem et locum *Weissenborn fortasse malis.*
[2] religionis haec Romanae *Vahlen*: regis haec romana V.
[3] quos *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] Polybius XIII. 3 tells the same story of Roman warfare, citing it as the one remaining example of the practice formerly adhered to by the Greeks. "The ancients, as we know, were far removed from such malpractices (as treacherous dealings). For so far were they from plotting mischief against their friends, with the purpose of aggrandizing their own power, that they would not even consent to get the better of their enemies by fraud, regarding no success as brilliant or secure unless they crushed the spirit of their adversaries in open battle. For this reason they entered into a convention among themselves to use against each other neither secret missiles nor those discharged from a distance, and considered that it was only a hand-to-hand battle at close quarters which was truly decisive. Hence they preceded war by a declaration and when they intended to do battle gave notice of the fact and of the spot to which they would proceed and array their army. But at the present they say it is a sign of poor generalship to do anything openly in war. Some slight traces, however, of the ancient principles of warfare survive among the Romans. For they make declaration of war, they very seldom use ambuscades, and they fight hand-to-hand at close quarters" (tr. Paton, L.C.L.). Tacitus, *Germania*, 6. 6 notes

they were going to fight.[1] With the same straightforwardness the information was given to King Pyrrhus that his physician was plotting against his life; in the same way the betrayer of their children was delivered bound to the Faliscans;[2] these are the acts of Roman scrupulousness, not of Carthaginian artfulness[3] nor of Greek slyness, since among these peoples it has been more praiseworthy to deceive an enemy than to conquer by force. Occasionally a greater advantage is gained for the time being by trickery than by courage, but final and lasting conquest of the spirit overtakes one from whom the admission has been extorted that he has been con-

B.C. 172

that the Germans regarded strategic retreat as honourable. For the early Roman declaration of war, cf. I. xxxii. 5–14, which suggests that the view of Livy's contemporaries that Romans had from the first been warriors is a myth due to the later successes in war. Rome's early expansion was caused by a desire for peace, and an inability to accept border raiding as a sport. Cf. also XXXI. viii. 3 and the note, XXXVI. iii. 12 and the note.

[2] Livy's account of the senate's warning to Pyrrhus occurred in the missing book, XIII, cf. the Summary of that book, also Aulus Gellius, III. viii, quoting Valerius Antias and Claudius Quadrigarius; for the story of the treacherous tutor of Falerii, cf. V. xxvii; an allusion to both in XXIV. xlv. 3.

[3] Cf. XXI. iv. 9, XXII. vi. 12, xxii. 15. Cf. Diodorus XXX. 7, ὅτι διασαφούντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς Περσέα κατεστρατήγησαν ἄνευ ὅπλων ἐπεχείρησάν τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπαινεῖν αὐτούς. οὐ μὴν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις ἤρεσκε τὸ γεγενημένον ἀλλ' ἔλεγον μὴ πρέπειν Ῥωμαίοις μιμεῖσθαι Φοίνικας, ὥστε δι' ἀπάτης ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἀρετῆς τῶν πολεμίων περιγίνεσθαι. "When the Romans announced that they had got the better of Perseus without recourse to arms, some of the senators tried to praise them. But what had happened did not please the eldest, but they said that it was not fitting that Romans should imitate Phoenicians, in such a way as to surpass their enemies through deceit and not through valour."

A.U.C. 582

arte neque casu,[1] sed collatis comminus viribus iusto ac pio esse bello superatum.

9 Haec seniores, quibus nova ac nimis callida minus [2] placebat sapientia; vicit tamen ea pars senatus, cui potior utilis [3] quam honesti cura erat, ut comprobaretur prior legatio Marci, et eodem rursus in Graeciam cum . . .[4] quinqueremibus remitteretur iubereturque cetera uti e re publica maxime visum 10 esset agere. A. quoque Atilium miserunt ad occupandam Larisam in Thessalia timentes ne, si indutiarum dies exisset, Perseus [5] praesidio eo misso caput 11 Thessaliae in potestate haberet. Duo milia peditum Atilius ab Cn.[6] Sicinio accersere [7] ad eam rem agendam 12 iussus. Et P. Lentulo qui ex Achaiâ redierat, trecenti milites Italici generis dati, ut Thebis daret operam, ut in potestate Boeotia esset.

A.U.C. 583

XLVIII. His praeparatis, quamquam ad bellum consilia erant destinata, senatum tamen praeberi 2 legatis placuit. Eadem fere, quae in colloquio ab rege dicta erant, relata ab legatis. Insidiarum Eumeni factarum crimen et maxima cura et minime tamen probabiliter—manifesta enim [8] res erat— 3 defensum; cetera deprecatio erat. Sed non eis animis audiebantur qui aut doceri aut flecti possent.

[1] arte neque casu *Fr.*: parte neque casus V.
[2] callida minus *add. Novák*: *om.* V.
[3] potior utilis *Fr.*: potior iutilius V.
[4] *fortasse numerus excidit* (*Duker*).
[5] Perseus *add. Fr.* ♦ *om.* V.
[6] Cn. *Fr.*: cos(*sic*) V.
[7] accersere *Kreyssig*: accensdere (*sic*) V.
[8] manifesta enim *Fr.*: manisestenim V.

[1] The number is missing.

quered, not by craft or accident, but by the hand-to- B.C. 172 hand clash of force in a proper and righteous war."

Thus the older men, who were less well pleased by the new and over-sly wisdom; however, that part of the senate to whom the pursuit of advantage was more important than that of honour, prevailed to the effect that the previous embassy of Marcius should be approved, and he should be sent back again to Greece with . . .[1] quinqueremes and instructed to conduct further affairs as might seem best to serve the state. Aulus Atilius, too, they sent to hold Larisa in Thessaly, fearing that if the time of the truce should expire, Perseus might send a garrison there and have in his power the capital of Thessaly. Atilius was instructed to call on Gnaeus Sicinius for two thousand soldiers to accomplish this mission. Publius Lentulus too—he had returned from Achaea—was given three hundred soldiers of Italian stock in order that he should do what he could at Thebes to keep Boeotia under Roman control.

XLVIII. With these preparations made, although B.C. 171 plans for making war had been determined upon, yet it was decided to receive the envoys before the senate.[2] Nearly the same statements as had been made at the conference by the king were presented by his envoys. The charge of setting an ambush for Eumenes was both their chief concern and at the same time—for the situation was obvious—the least plausibly refuted; the rest of what they had to say was mollification. But the envoys were not heard by spirits which could be either enlightened or moved.

[2] A different account of the same event, above, ch. xxxvi. 1–8; this later account follows Polybius, XXVII. 6, *πάλαι προδιειλημμένοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν* and cf. Diodorus, XXX. 1.

A.U.C. 583

Denuntiatum extemplo moenibus urbis Romae, Italia [1] intra tricesimum diem excederent. P. Licinio deinde consuli, cui Macedonia provincia obvenerat, denuntiatum, ut exercitui diem primam quamque diceret ad conveniendum. C. Lucretius praetor, cui classis provincia erat, cum quadraginta quinqueremibus ab urbe profectus; nam ex [2] refectis navibus alias in alium usum retineri ad urbem placuit. Praemissus a praetore est frater M. [3] Lucretius cum quinqueremi [4] una, iussusque ab sociis ex foedere acceptis navibus ad Cephallaniam classi occurrere. Ab Reginis triremi una sumpta,[5] ab Locris duabus, ab Uritibus quattuor, praeter oram Italiae supervectus [6] Calabriae extremum promunturium Ionio [7] mari Dyrrhachium traicit. Ibi decem ipsorum Dyrrhachinorum, duodecim Issaeorum, quinquaginta quattuor Gentii regis lembos nanctus, simulans se credere eos in usum Romanorum comparatos esse, omnibus abductis die tertio Corcyram, inde protinus in Cephallaniam [8] traicit. C. Lucretius praetor ab Neapoli profectus, superato freto, die quinto in [9] Cephallaniam transmisit. Ibi stetit classis, simul opperiens ut

[1] Italia *Fr.*: ita V.
[2] ex *Fr.*: rex V.
[3] M. *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[4] quinqueremi *Wesenberg*: quinquiremesi (*sic*) V.
[5] sumpta *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[6] Italiae supervectus *Fr.*: siuperuectus italiae (*sic*) V.
[7] Ionio *Madvig*: inionio V.
[8] Cephallaniam *Hertz*: cepaliam V. *sed infra* cepallaniam.
[9] in *Fr.*: per V.

The stern order was given them to depart from the walls of Rome at once, and within thirty days from Italy. Then to the consul Publius Licinius, to whom Macedonia had fallen as province, the order was given that he should appoint the first possible day for the army to assemble. Gaius Lucretius the praetor,[1] whose duty was the command of the fleet, left the city with forty quinqueremes; for it had been decided to keep at the city several of the refitted ships for various purposes. The praetor sent his brother Marcus Lucretius on in advance with one quinquereme, with orders to meet the fleet at Cephallania with the ships received from the allies according to treaty. After taking on one trireme from Rhegium, two from Locri, four from the district of Uria,[2] he coasted along Italy past the farthest cape of Calabria and crossed the Ionian sea to Dyrrhachium. There he came upon ten cutters [3] of the Dyrrhachians themselves, twelve of the Issaeans, and fifty-four of King Gentius, and pretending that he believed they had been collected for the use of the Romans, took them all with him on the third day to Corcyra and thence crossed at once to Cephallania. Gaius Lucretius the praetor set out from Naples, passed through the straits [4] and made the crossing to Cephallania in five days. There the fleet halted, not

B.C. 171

[1] Cf. above, ch. xxxv. 3.
[2] Apparently the territory of the Sallentini in the extreme "heel" of Italy, although Uria is an inland town; there was also a Uria nearer the Adriatic in northern Apulia.
[3] Small fast boats, usually undecked, for sail and oars, sometimes sizable, cf. XLIV. xxviii and Polybius II. 3. 1, also Livy XXXII. xxi. 27 and xxxii. 9, XXXIII. xix. 10, XXXV. xxvi. 1. The word *lembus* seems to mean "sharp."
[4] Of Messina.

A.U.C. 583

terrestres [1] copiae traicerentur, simul ut onerariae ex agmine suo per altum dissipatae consequerentur.

XLIX. Per hos forte dies P. Licinius consul votis in Capitolio nuncupatis paludatus ab urbe profectus est. Semper quidem ea res cum magna dignitate ac maiestate geritur; [2] praecipue convertit oculos animosque, cum ad magnum nobilemque aut virtute aut fortuna hostem euntem consulem prosequuntur. Contrahit enim non officii modo cura sed etiam studium spectaculi, ut videant ducem suum, cuius imperio consilioque summam rem publicam tuendam permiserunt. Subit deinde cogitatio animos [3] qui belli casus, quam incertus fortunae eventus communisque Mars belli sit; adversa secundaque,[4] quae inscitia et temeritate ducum clades saepe acciderint, quae contra bona prudentia et virtus attulerit. Quem scire mortalium, utrius mentis utrius fortunae consulem ad bellum mittant? Triumphantemne mox cum exercitu victore scandentem [5] in Capitolium ad eosdem deos a quibus proficiscatur visuri, an hostibus eam praebituri laetitiam sint? Persei autem regi, adversus quem ibatur, famam et bello clara Macedonum gens et Philippus pater, inter multa prospere gesta Romano etiam nobilitatus bello, praebebat; tum ipsius Persei numquam, ex quo regnum accepis-

[1] ut terrestres *Fr.*: ut terres ut terrestris (*sic*) V.
[2] geritur *Fr.*: quaeritur V.
[3] animos *Madvig*: animi V.
[4] secundaque *Madvig*: secundaquaeque V.
[5] scandentem *Kreyssig*: stantem V.

[1] Polybius XXVII. 7 says that the Rhodians were summoned at this time.

[2] For similar scenes, cf. XXVII. xl, XXIX. xxvi, XLIV. xxii. 17.

only to wait till the land forces were brought over, B.C. 171 but also so that the supply-ships, scattered over the deep off their course, might catch up with it.[1]

XLIX. During these days, as it happened, the consul Publius Licinius, after announcing his vows on the Capitol, set out from the city in military dress. Such a departure is always indeed conducted with great solemnity and pomp; it particularly draws the eyes and minds of men when they escort a consul going against an enemy great and famous either for bravery or for good fortune. For not only care in paying their respects, but also eagerness for the spectacle brings crowds to see their leader, to whose command and wisdom they have entrusted the whole welfare of the state. Thereupon there steals over their minds a thought of the calamities of war, and how uncertain is the outcome of fortune and how impartial the god of war—a thought of reverses and successes, of what disasters have often occurred through the ignorance and rashness of leaders, of what gains, on the other hand, prudence and courage have produced. What mortal knows, men think, which kind of mind and fortune belongs to this consul whom we are sending to war? Shall it be in swift triumph, as he climbs the Capitol with a conquering army toward those gods from whom he now takes his leave, that we shall see him, or are we to give that joy to the enemy? [2] To King Perseus in particular, against whom the consul was going, fame had come from the brilliance of the Macedonian nation in war and from Philip, the king's father, whose reputation sprang from many successful achievements and, besides, even from the war with Rome. Then, too, Perseus' own name, because of the expectation of war with him,

A.U.C. 583

set, desitum belli expectatione celebrari nomen.
8 Cum his cogitationibus[1] omnium ordinum homines
9 proficiscentem consulem prosecuti sunt. Duo consulares tribuni militum cum eo missi, C. Claudius, Q. Mucius, et tres illustres iuvenes, P. Lentulus et duo Manlii Acidini:[2] alter M. Manlii, alter L. Manlii
10 filius erat. Cum iis consul Brundisium ad exercitum profectus[3] atque inde cum omnibus copiis transvectus ad Nymphaeum in Apolloniati agro[4] posuit castra.

L. Paucos ante dies Perseus, postquam legati ab Roma regressi praeciderant spem pacis,[5] consilium habuit. Ibi aliquamdiu[6] diversis sententiis certatum
2 est. Erant quibus vel stipendium pendendum,[7] si iniungeretur, vel agri parte cedendum, si multarent, quidquid denique aliud pacis[8] causa patiendum esset, non recusandum videretur, nec committendum ut in
3 aleam tanti casus se regnumque daret. Si possessio haud ambigua regni maneret, multa diem tempusque afferre posse, quibus non amissa modo recuperare, sed timendus ultro iis esse quos nunc timeret posset.
4 Ceterum multo maior pars ferocioris sententiae erat. Quidquid cessisset, cum eo simul regno protinus
5 cedendum esse affirmabant. Neque enim Romanos pecunia aut agro egere, sed[9] hoc scire cum omnia

[1] cogitationibus *Fr.*: cogitationum V.
[2] Acidini *Fr.*: acili V.
[3] profectus *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[4] Apolloniati agro *Fr.*: apolliniomagro V.
[5] spem pacis *Fr.*: spe paucis V.
[6] aliquamdiu *Sigonius*: aliquam V.
[7] pendendum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[8] aliud pacis *Fr.*: ad aliud paucis V.
[9] agro egere sed *Fr.*: agrosegeressed V.

never from the time he mounted the throne had B.C. 171
ceased to be on men's lips. With such thoughts, men of all classes escorted the departing consul. Two ex-consuls were sent with him as military tribunes, Gaius Claudius and Quintus Mucius[1] and three noted young men, Publius Lentulus and two named Manlius Acidinus—one was the son of Marcus Manlius, the other of Lucius Manlius. With these the consul left for the army at Brundisium and crossing thence with all his forces, pitched camp near the Place of the Nymphs[2] in the territory of Apollonia.

L. A few days before, after the envoys returning from Rome had cut off hope of peace, Perseus held a council. There a contest of opposing views took place for a time. There were those who thought that either a tribute should be paid, if it were imposed, or part of their territory yielded, if this form of fine were inflicted—or, finally, that anything else which must be endured for the sake of peace should not be rejected, nor should the king risk staking himself and his kingdom on a cast with so great a forfeit. If his hold on the kingdom remained quite undisputed, the passage of time might bring, they thought, many means not only of recouping his losses but of making him positively an object of fear to those whom he now feared. However, by far the majority held a bolder opinion. No matter what he should have yielded, they declared, along with it he would immediately have to yield his kingdom. For the Romans were not in want of money or territory, but

[1] Consuls in 177 and 174 B.C. respectively; for Mucius' part in the campaign, cf. below, ch. lviii. 13, and lxvii. 9, where he has been promoted to *legatus*.
[2] Cf. above, ch. xxxvi. 6 and n. 3.

A.U.C. 583

humana tum maxima quaeque et regna et imperia
6 sub casibus multis esse. Carthaginiensium opes fregisse sese, et cervicibus eorum praepotentem finitimum regem imposuisse; Antiochum progeniem-
7 que eius ultra iuga Tauri emotum;[1] unum esse Macedoniae regnum, et regione propinquum, et quod, sicubi[2] populo Romano sua fortuna labet, antiquos
8 animos regibus suis videatur posse facere. Dum integrae res sint, statuere[3] apud animum suum Persea debere, utrum singula concedendo nudatus ad extremum opibus extorrisque regno Samothraciam aliamve quam insulam petere ab Romanis, ubi privatus superstes regno suo in contemptu atque inopia
9 consenescat, malit, an[4] armatus vindex fortunae dignitatisque suae aut, ut[5] viro forti dignum sit, patiatur quodcumque casus belli tulerit, aut victor liberet[6] orbem terrarum ab imperio Romano.
10 Non esse admirabilius Romanos Graecia pelli quam Hannibalem Italia pulsum esse. Neque hercule videre qui conveniat, fratri affectanti per iniuriam regnum summa vi restitisse, alienigenis bene parto
11 eo cedere. Postremo ita de[7] bello et pace quaeri ut inter omnes conveniat, nec turpius quicquam esse quam sine certamine cessisse regno nec praeclarius

[1] emotum *J. F. Gronovius*: ermotum V.
[2] sicubi *Fr.*: quiasictibi V.
[3] res sint statuere *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[4] malit an *Fr.*: militaria V.
[5] ut *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[6] liberet *Fr.*: liberart (*sic*) V.
[7] de *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.

[1] Masinissa.
[2] Perhaps in anticipation of the actual flight of Perseus thither, cf. XLIV. xlv. 15, XLV. v; as a sacred island, Samothrace was particularly appropriate as an asylum.

understood that not only all human affairs, but in B.C. 171
particular the greatest of kingdoms and empires, were subject to many vicissitudes. The Romans, said these advisers, knew that they had shattered the power of the Carthaginians and had set upon their necks a very powerful royal neighbour;[1] Antiochus and his line had been driven beyond the range of Taurus; only the kingdom of Macedonia remained, both near in situation, and such that, when in any way its good fortune began to fail the Roman people, it might seem able to inspire its kings with the spirit of their ancestors. While his strength was intact, Perseus ought to make up his mind whether, after being stripped, by concession after concession, of his resources, and thrust from his kingdom, he would prefer finally to beg of the Romans Samothrace[2] or some other island, where as an untitled survivor of his own kingdom he might grow old amid scorn and poverty, or whether, armed in defense of his power and high position, he would either, in a fashion worthy of a brave man, endure whatever the fortune of war might bring, or as conqueror free the world from Roman domination. It would be no more astounding for the Romans to be driven from Greece than for Hannibal to have been driven from Italy. Nor in truth could they see how it was consistent to resist with the utmost vehemence a brother who was wrongly laying claim to the kingdom, and then, when the kingdom had been securely won, to yield it to aliens. Finally this discussion about peace and war was based on the universally accepted view that nothing is more disgraceful than to have yielded a kingdom without a struggle, nor anything more

A.U.C. 583

quam [1] pro dignitate ac maiestate omnem fortunam expertum esse.

LI. Pellae, in vetere regia Macedonum, hoc consilium erat. " Geramus ergo " inquit, " dis bene iuvantibus, quando ita videtur, bellum ; " litterisque [2] circa praefectos dimissis, Citium—Macedoniae oppi-
2 dum est—copias omnes contrahit. Ipse [3] centum hostiis sacrificio regaliter Minervae, quam vocant Alcidemon, facto [4] cum purpuratorum et satellitum manu profectus Citium est. Eo iam omnes Macedonum et [5] externorum auxiliorum convenerant
3 copiae. Castra ante urbem ponit omnisque armatos [6] in campo instruxit ; [7] summa omnium quadraginta tria [8] milia armata fuere ; quorum pars ferme dimidia
4 phalangitae erant ; Hippias Beroeaeus praeerat. Delecta deinde et viribus et robore aetatis ex omni caetratorum numero duo milia [9] erant : agema hanc ipsi legionem vocabant ; praefectos habebat Leon-
5 natum et Thrasippum Eulyestas. Ceterorum caetra-

[1] quam *Weissenborn* : quicquam V, quicquam quam *Fr.*
[2] litterisque *Fr.* : ut terrisquae V.
[3] contrahit ipse *Fr.* : contra ipsa V.
[4] Alcidemon facto *Kreyssig* : alcidem confacto V.
[5] et *add. Vahlen* : *om.* V.
[6] omnesque armatos *Fr.* : omnis armatosque V.
[7] instruxit *J. F. Gronovius* : struxit V.
[8] tria *add. J. F. Gronovius* : *om.* V.
[9] milia *add. Kreyssig* : *om.* V.

[1] The form usually assigned in the Latin to this title of Athena is Alcis, not Alcidemos.
[2] I.e., nobles attendant on the king, cf. XXX. xlii. 6, XXXI. xxxv. 1, XXXVII, xxiii. 7, lix. 5.
[3] Cf. XXXVI. xviii. 2, XXXVII. xl. 1.

glorious than to have made trial of fortune to the B.C. 171 utmost in defense of rank and crown.

LI. This conference was held at Pella, in the ancient palace of the Macedonians. " Let us, then," said Perseus, " wage war, since this seems best, with the kindly help of the gods," and sending dispatches to his officers he drew all his forces together at Citium, a city of Macedonia. He himself offered a sacrifice of one hundred victims in regal style to Minerva whom they call " Defender of the Folk," [1] and set out for Citium with a band of wearers of the purple [2] and attendants. There all the forces of Macedonians and foreign auxiliaries had already assembled. He pitched camp before the city and drew up all the soldiers on the plain ; the total of all was forty-three thousand under arms ; about half of these were phalanx-men ; [3] Hippias of Beroea [4] was their commander. Then there were two thousand chosen from all the force of light infantry [5] for their strength and the vigour of their youth ; this unit the Macedonians called the Guard ; [6] its commanders were Leonnatus and Thrasippus, Eulyestans.[7] The leader

[4] This town was of importance, notably in Christian times, and through the Middle Ages. Its name survives in the form Verria in modern Greek, Berea in English.
[5] For *caetrati* cf. XXXI. xxxvi. 1 and the note, also XXVIII. v. 11. These " peltasts " (the Greek term) first came into use in the Peloponnesian War, and were made important by Iphicrates of Athens early in the fourth century ; they were conspicuous, as here, in the army of Alexander the Great. They were armed with helmet, shield, long spear and sword.
[6] Cf. Polybius V. 65.2, 84. 7 ; Arrian, *Anabasis*, II 8.3, III. 11. 9.
[7] The name of this people is not found elsewhere, and is probably corrupt. Weissenborn conjectures *Elymiotas*, or *Lyncestas*.

A.U.C. 583

torum, trium ferme milium hominum, dux erat Antiphilus Edessaeus. Paeones et ex Paroria et Parastrymonia—sunt autem ea loca subiecta Thraciae—et Agrianes, admixtis etiam Thracibus incolis, trium milium ferme et ipsi expleverant numerum. 6 Armaverat contraxeratque eos Didas Paeon, qui 7 adulescentem Demetrium occiderat. Et armatorum duo milia Gallorum erant; praefectus Asclepiodotus ab Heraclea ex Sintis;[1] tria milia Thracum liberorum suum ducem habebant. Cretensium par ferme[2] numerus suos duces sequebatur Susum Phalasarnaeum 8 et Syllum Gnosium. Et Leonides Lacedaemonius quingentis ex Graecia, mixto[3] generi hominum, praeerat. Regii is generis ferebatur, exul, damnatus frequenti concilio Achaeorum litteris ad Persea 9 deprensis. Aetolorum et Boeotorum, qui non explebant plus quam quingentorum omnes numerum, Lyco Achaeus praefectus erat. Ex his mixtis tot populorum, tot gentium auxiliis duodecim milia armatorum ferme efficiebantur. Equitum ex tota 10 Macedonia contraxerat tria[4] milia. Venerat eodem Cotys, Seuthis[5] filius, rex gentis Odrysarum, cum mille delectis equitibus, pari ferme peditum numero. 11 Ita summa totius exercitus triginta novem milia[6] peditum erant, quattuor equitum. Satis constabat,

[1] Sintis *Hartel*: intris V.
[2] par ferme *Novák*: parmene V.
[3] Graecia mixto *Fr.*: graeciam misso V.
[4] tria *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] Cotys (Cothys) Seuthis *Hertz*: coteseuthis V.
[6] milia *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] Cf. XXXIX. xxvii. 10.
[2] Regular auxiliaries of the Macedonians, cf. XXVIII. v. 12, XXXIII. xviii. 9, Arrian, I. l. 11, etc.

of the other light infantry, about three thousand men, B.C. 171 was Antiphilus of Edessa. The Paeonians from the districts both of the Mountainside[1] and of the Strymon Valley—these places march with Thrace—and the Agrianes,[2] with an admixture, besides, of Thracian settlers, also supplied a contingent of nearly three thousand. Didas the Paeonian, who had killed young Demetrius,[3] had armed and mustered them. There were also two thousand Gauls[4] under arms; their commander was Asclepiodotus from Heraclea of the Sintians; three thousand free Thracians were under their own commander. About an equal number of Cretans followed native leaders, Susus of Phalasarnae and Syllus of Knossus. Leonides too, the Lacedaemonian, commanded five hundred from Greece, a mixed group of men. He was said to be of the royal blood, an exile, condemned by a full council of the Achaeans because of dispatches to Perseus which had been intercepted. Lycon the Achaean was commander of the Aetolians and Boeotians, who amounted in all to not more than five hundred. Of these auxiliaries, made up of so many peoples and tribes, the total under arms came to about twelve thousand. Of cavalry, the king had assembled three thousand from all Macedonia. To Citium had come Cotys,[5] son of Seuthes, king of the tribe of the Odrysae, with one thousand picked cavalry and about an equal number of infantry. Thus the total of the whole army was thirty-nine thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry. It was generally agreed that,

[3] Cf. XL. xxii. 15–xxiv; Didas was governor of Paeonia.
[4] Either from Asia Minor, or, more probably, from Pannonia (northern Jugoslavia).
[5] Cf. above xxix. 12 and the note.

A.U.C. 583 secundum eum exercitum, quem magnus Alexander in Asiam traiecit, numquam ullius Macedonum regis copias tantas fuisse.

LII. Sextus et vicesimus annus agebatur, ex quo petenti Philippo data pax erat; per id omne tempus quieta Macedonia et progeniem ediderat, cuius[1] magna pars matura militiae esset, et levibus bellis Thracum accolarum, quae exercerent magis quam fatigarent, sub assidua tamen militia fuerat. Et diu meditatum Philippo primo, deinde et Persei Romanum bellum, omnia ut instructa parataque essent effecerat.

Mota[2] parumper acies, non iusto decursu tamen, ne stetisse tantum in armis viderentur; armatosque, sicut erant, ad contionem vocavit. Ipse constitit in tribunali, circa se habens filios duos, quorum maior[3] Philippus natura frater, adoptione filius, minor, quem Alexandrum vocabant, naturalis erat. Cohortatus est milites ad bellum; iniurias[4] populi Romani in patrem seque commemoravit:[5] illum omnibus indignitatibus[6] compulsum ad rebellandum, inter apparatum belli fato oppressum; ad se simul legatos, simul milites ad occupandas Graeciae urbes missos. Fallaci dein[7] colloquio per speciem reconciliandae

[1] cuius *Fr.*: cuius macedonia V.
[2] effecerat. mota *Fr.*: effecerant motam V.
[3] quorum maior *Fr.*: cuius uel quorum pars V.
[4] iniurias *Crévier*: iniuriam V.
[5] seque commemoravit *Fr.*: seomnemorauit V.
[6] indignitatibus *Fr.*: dignitationibus V.
[7] dein *Bekker*: deindein V.

[1] Livy's estimate of Alexander's available strength in IX. xix. 5 was not so large. Arrian, *Anabasis* I. 11. 3 gives

except for the army which Alexander the Great took over to Asia,[1] never had the forces of any Macedonian king been so great. B.C. 171

LII. The twenty-sixth year was passing, since peace had been granted to Philip at his request; throughout all that time unmolested Macedonia had both produced offspring, a large number of whom were of military age, and yet, in minor wars with her Thracian neighbours, of a sort to give training rather than to produce weariness, had been unremittingly in arms. Also the long planning for war with Rome, first by Philip, then by Perseus, had brought it about that everything was ready and at hand.

The array of the review was set briefly in motion (not however in a regular manoeuvre[2]), so that they might not seem to have merely stood under arms; the king summoned them, in arms as they were, to an assembly. He himself stood on a platform, having about him his two sons, the elder of whom, Philip, was by birth his brother, by adoption his son, while the younger, whom they called Alexander, was his own.[3] He cheered the soldiers on to the war; he recited the wrongs done by the Roman people to his father and himself; the former had been driven by all sorts of outrages to fight back, but had been overtaken by fate during preparations for the war; to Perseus himself envoys had been sent at the same moment as soldiers for the seizing of the cities of Greece. Then through a treacherous conference, by means of a pretence of reorganizing peace, the

Alexander an original strength of somewhat over 35000, corresponding with Livy IX.
[2] Cf. XL. vi. 5–7.
[3] Cf. Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus*, xxxiii. 3–4 and xxxvii. 3.

A.U.C. 583

pacis extractam hiemem, ut tempus ad comparandum haberent; consulem nunc venire cum duabus legionibus Romanis, quae singulae sena milia peditum,[1] trecenos[2] equites habeant, et pari ferme numero sociorum peditum equitumque. Eo ut accedant
9 regum auxilia, Eumenis et Masinissae, non plus triginta[3] septem milia peditum, duo equitum futura.
10 Auditis hostium copiis respicerent suum ipsi exercitum, quantum numero quantum genere militum praestarent tironibus raptim ad id bellum conscriptis ipsi, a pueris eruditi artibus militiae, tot subacti atque
11 durati bellis. Auxilia Romanis Lydos et Phrygas et Numidas esse, sibi Thracas Gallosque, ferocissimas gentium. Arma illos habere[4] ea quae sibi quisque paraverit pauper miles, Macedonas prompta ex regio apparatu, per tot annos patris sui cura et impensa
12 facta. Commeatum illis cum procul, tum omnibus sub casibus maritimis fore; se et pecuniam et frumentum, praeter reditus metallorum, in decem annos
13 seposuisse. Omnia quae deorum indulgentia, quae regia cura praeparanda fuerint,[5] plena cumulataque
14 habere Macedonas; animos habendos esse quos[6]

[1] singulae . . . peditum *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[2] trecenos *Sigonius*: tricenos V.
[3] triginta *add. H. J. Mueller*: *om.* V.
[4] illos habere *Fr.*: armatplios V.
[5] fuerint *Duker*: fuerant V.
[6] animos habendos esse quos *Vahlen*: animum hos habendum esse quem V.

[1] Traditionally regarded as effeminate and slavish by Greeks and Romans; the Lydians were said to have been made unwarlike, to prevent uprisings, by Cyrus the Great; on advice of their ex-king Croesus, he had forbidden them arms and made them become merchants and musicians (Herodotus I. 155). Cf. XXXVIII. xvii. 13, and the note.

winter had been wasted, so that the Romans might B.C. 171 have time for preparation; now the consul was coming with two Roman legions, each of which contained six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, and about the same number of allied infantry and cavalry. Supposing that there were added to this force auxiliaries from the kings, Eumenes and Masinissa, there would be not more than thirty-seven thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. Now that they had heard the numbers of the enemy let them consider their own army, how much it excelled in numbers and in type of soldiers, how much they, trained in the arts of warfare from boyhood, disciplined and hardened in so many wars, excelled these recruits hastily enrolled for this war. The auxiliaries of the Romans were Lydians, Phrygians,[1] and Numidians; their own, Thracians and Gauls, the most warlike of all nations. Their enemies had such arms as each poverty-stricken soldier might have acquired for himself,[2] the Macedonians had arms taken from the royal arsenals, laid up through so many years by his father's care and expenditure. Provisions for the enemy would come not only from a long distance, but subject to all the accidents of seafaring; he himself had stored up both money and grain, not counting the revenue from the mines, for a ten years' war.[3] Everything which, by the beneficence of the gods and by the prudence of the king, was to be made ready the Macedonians had in abundant plenty; they must have, too, the spirit

[2] The state, however, supplied arms in case of need, and in wartime presumably had replacements in its arsenals, cf. XXIX. xxii. 3.

[3] So also Justinus, XXXIII. 1. 3: Perseo . . . decennis belli sumptus a patre paratus in thesauris et horreis erat.

A.U.C. 583

habuerint maiores eorum, qui Europa omni domita transgressi in Asiam [1] incognitum famae aperuerint armis orbem terrarum nec ante vincere desierint quam Rubro mari inclusis quod vincerent,defuerit. 15 At hercule nunc non [2] de ultimis Indiae oris sed de ipsius Macedoniae possessione certamen fortunam indixisse. Cum patre suo gerentes bellum Romanos speciosum Graeciae liberandae praetulisse [3] titulum: 16 nunc propalam Macedoniam in servitutem petere, ne rex vicinus imperio sit Romano, ne gens bello nobilis arma habeat. Haec enim tradenda superbis dominis esse cum rege regnoque, si [4] absistere bello et facere imperata velint.

LIII. Cum per omnem orationem satis frequenti assensu succlamatum esset, tum vero ea vociferatio simul indignantium minitantiumque, partim iubentium bonum animum habere regem, exorta est ut finem dicendi faceret, tantum iussis ad iter se 2 parare; [5] iam enim dici movere castra ab Nymphaeo Romanos. Contione [6] dimissa ad audiendas legationes civitatium Macedoniae se contulit. 3 Venerant autem ad pecunias pro facultatibus quaeque suis et frumentum pollicendum ad bellum. 4 Omnibus gratiae actae, remissum omnibus; satis

[1] Asiam *Fr.*: Italiam V.
[2] non *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[3] praetulisse *J. F. Gronovius*: tulisse V.
[4] si *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] se parare *Wesenberg*: parere V.
[6] contione *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

which their ancestors had possessed, who, having B.C. 171 subdued all Europe, had crossed to Asia and opened up with their arms a whole world unknown even to rumour, and had not ceased their conquests, until, within the barrier of the Indian Ocean,[1] there was nothing left for them to conquer. But now, by Hercules, fortune had proclaimed a contest, not for the farthermost shores of India, but for the possession of Macedonia itself. When the Romans had been waging war with his father, they had held out the plausible pretext of the freedom of Greece; now openly they sought to enslave Macedonia, that there might be no king neighbouring the Roman empire, that no people famed in war might keep its arms. All these things they must surrender to haughty masters, along with their king and kingdom, if they wished to cease waging war and do the bidding of others.

LIII. Although throughout all the speech there had been often enough outbursts of applause, at that moment indeed such an outcry arose from those who were at once enraged and threatening, while some of them bade the king be of good cheer, that he put an end to his speech, merely ordering them to prepare for a march, for it was reported that the Romans had already moved camp from the Place of the Nymphs. After dismissing the assembly he turned to hearing embassies from the cities of Macedonia. These groups had come in order to promise funds for the war, each according to its ability, and grain. To all thanks were expressed and the offers refused;

[1] The "Red Sea" usually meant to a Roman the Persian Gulf, but cf. below, *ultimis Indiae oris*; the Indian Ocean had perhaps no separate name current in Livy's day; Roman seafaring in those waters came later.

A.U.C. 583

regios[1] apparatus ad ea dictum sufficere. Vehicula tantum imperata, ut tormenta telorumque missilium ingentem vim praeparatam bellicumque aliud instrumentum veherent.

5 Profectus inde toto exercitu, Eordaeam[2] petens, ad Begorritim quem vocant lacum positis castris, postero die in Elimeam ad Haliacmona fluvium processit. 6 Deinde saltu angusto superatis montibus quos Cambunios vocant descendit ad Azorum, Pythoum, 7 Dolichen; Tripolim vocant incolentes. Haec tria oppida paulisper cunctati, quia obsides Larisaeis dederant, victi tamen praesenti metu in deditionem 8 concesserunt. Benigne his appellatis, haud dubius Perrhaebos quoque idem facturos,[3] . . . .[4] urbem nihil cunctatis, qui incolebant, primo adventu recipit. 9 Cyretias oppugnare coactus primo[5] die acri concursu ad portas armatorum est repulsus; postero die omnibus copiis adortus in deditionem omnes ante noctem accepit.

LIV. Mylae, proximum oppidum, ita munitum ut inexsuperabilis munimenti spes incolas ferociores faceret, non portas claudere regi satis habuerunt, sed probris quoque in ipsum Macedonasque procaci- 2 bus iaculati sunt. Quae res cum infestiorem hostem ad oppugnandum fecisset, ipsos desperatione veniae 3 ad tuendos sese acrius accendit. Itaque per triduum

[1] regios *Fr.*: regionibus V.
[2] Eordaeam *Drakenborch*: sordeam V.
[3] facturos *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] *lacunam indicavit Crévier, nomen civitatis excidisse persuasus.*
[5] primo *Zingerle*: primo etiam V.

[1] The route chosen led west, then south, avoiding mountain narrows as far as possible, and taking the western pass to the Tripolis.

they were informed that the royal stores were suffi- B.C. 171
cient for these purposes. Only wagons were ordered, to carry the catapults and a huge supply of missile weapons which was ready and other martial equipment.

Setting out from there with the whole army, by way of Eordaea,[1] the king arrived on the second day, after pitching camp at the lake called Begorritis, at the Haliacmon river in Elimea. Then crossing the mountains which they call Cambunian by a narrow pass, he came down to Azorus, Pythoüs and Dolichê; the inhabitants call them Tripolis. These three towns, after brief hesitation because they had given hostages to the people of Larisa, nevertheless, overcome by immediate fear, yielded in surrender. After reassuring speeches to these, Perseus, not doubting that the Perrhaebians also would do the same . . .[2] at once on his arrival received the surrender of the city with no delay on the part of the inhabitants. Forced to besiege Cyretiae, he was repulsed the first day by a sharp rally of fighters at the gates; on the next day, by attacking with all his forces, he received before nightfall the surrender of everyone.

LIV. Mylae, the next town, being so fortified that their hope that the defences were impregnable made the inhabitants overbold, considered it insufficient to shut its gates to the king, but also assailed him and the Macedonians with saucy insults. This impertinence both made the enemy more vehement in the attack and fired the citizens, through despair of obtaining pardon, to defend themselves more vigorously. Therefore for three

[2] Perhaps only the name of the city (Malloea? cf. below, ch. lxvii. 7) is missing.

A.U.C. 583

ingentibus utrimque animis et oppugnata est urbs et [1] defensa. Multitudo Macedonum ad subeundum in vicem proelium haud difficulter suppetebat; [2] oppidanos, diem noctem eosdem tuentes moenia, non vulnera modo sed etiam vigiliae et continens labor conficiebat. Quarto die cum et [3] scalae undique ad muros erigerentur et porta vi maiore oppugnaretur, oppidani depulsa vi muris [4] ad portam tuendam concurrunt eruptionemque repentinam in hostis faciunt; quae cum irae magis inconsultae quam verae fiduciae virium esset, pauci et fessi [5] ab integris pulsi terga dederunt [6] fugientesque per patentem portam hostes acceperunt. Ita capta urbs ac direpta est; libera quoque corpora quae caedibus superfuerunt [7] venum data. Diruto magna ex parte et incenso oppido profectus ad Phalannam castra movit, inde postero die Gyrtonem pervenit. Quo cum T. Minucium Rufum et Hippiam, Thessalorum praetorem, cum praesidio intrasse accepisset, ne temptata [8] quidem oppugnatione praetergressus, Elatiam et Gonnum perculsis inopinato adventu oppidanis recepit. Utraque oppida in faucibus sunt qua Tempe adeuntur,[9] magis Gonnus. Itaque [10] et firmiore id praesidio tutum equitum peditumque, ad hoc fossa triplici ac vallo munitum reliquit. Ipse ad Sycurium progressus opperiri ibi hostium adventum statuit;

[1] urbs et *add. Madvig* : *om.* V.
[2] suppetebat *Madvig* : sedebat V.
[3] et *Fr.* : et cum V.
[4] depulsa vi muris *Madvig* : depulmoris V.
[5] et fessi *Fr.* : effusi V.
[6] dederunt *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.
[7] superfuerunt *Fr.* : sublperfuerent (*sic*) V.
[8] tentata *Fr.* : pugnata V.
[9] Tempe adeuntur *J. F. Gronovius* : tempestate adeunt V.
[10] Gonnus itaque *Sigonius* : conustaque et V.

days with great spirit on both sides the city was attacked and defended. The numbers of the Macedonians were easily sufficient to undertake the battle in relays; the townspeople, guarding the walls day and night without relief, were worn out not only by wounds but also by wakefulness and unbroken toil. When on the fourth day ladders were lifted against the walls on all sides and also the gate was attacked with greater violence, the townspeople, after thrusting back the assault on the walls, rallied to guard the gate and made a sudden sally against the enemy; this being more the result of heedless rage than of genuine confidence in their strength, the small number of weary men, routed by fresh opponents, turned tail and in their flight let the enemy in through the open gate. Thus the city was captured and sacked; even the free persons who survived the slaughter were sold. After the town had been in large part torn down and burned, Perseus, departing, moved his camp to Phalanna [1] and thence on the next day arrived at Gyrton. When he heard that Titus Minucius Rufus and Hippias, general of the Thessalians, had entered that town with a garrison, he passed by without even trying an attack and received the submission of Elatia and Gonnus because the inhabitants were frightened by his unexpected arrival. Both towns are in the narrows by which Tempê is approached, especially Gonnus. Therefore he left this town both protected by a stronger garrison of cavalry and infantry and fortified in addition by a triple ditch and a rampart. He himself having advanced to Sycurium decided to await there the approach of the enemy; at the

B.C. 171

[1] Perseus now turns east, then north-east.

A.U.C. 583

simul et frumentari passim exercitum iubet in subiecto
10 hostium agro. Namque Sycurium est sub radicibus Ossae montis. Is,[1] qua in meridiem vergit, subiectos habet Thessaliae campos, ab tergo Macedoniam atque
11 Magnesiam. Ad has opportunitates accedit summa salubritas et copia pluribus circumiectis fontibus perennium aquarum.

LV. Consul Romanus, per eosdem dies Thessaliam cum exercitu petens, iter expeditum primo per
2 Epirum habuit; deinde, postquam in Athamaniam est transgressus, asperi ac prope invii soli,[2] cum ingenti difficultate parvis itineribus aegre Gomphos
3 pervenit; cui si vexatis hominibus equisque tironem exercitum ducenti acie instructa et loco suo et tempore obstitisset rex, ne Romani quidem abnuunt
4 magna sua cum clade fuisse[3] pugnaturos. Postquam Gomphos sine certamine ventum est, praeter gaudium periculosi saltus superati, contemptus quoque hostium adeo ignorantium opportunitates
5 suas accessit. Sacrificio rite perfecto consul et frumento dato militibus paucos ad requiem iumentorum hominumque moratus dies, cum audiret vagari Macedonas effusos per Thessaliam vastarique sociorum agros, satis iam refectum militem ad
6 Larisam ducit. Inde cum tria milia ferme abesset,

[1] Is *add. Madvig* : *om.* V.
[2] asperi ac prope invii soli *Fr.*: asperis ac prope iniu solis V.
[3] clade fuisse *Fr.*: clade uisse V.

[1] This criticism ignores the difficulties which Perseus would have suffered had he tried to oppose the Romans in Athamania; in the mountains his strongest arm, the phalanx, was useless, and his cavalry might well have been hobbled; the problem of supplies and communications would have been complicated by the mountains between him and Macedonia; and his

same time he ordered his army to gather grain B.C. 171
everywhere in the adjoining hostile territory. For Sycurium is in the foothills of Mount Ossa. This mountain by its southern slope commands the plains of Thessaly, and to the rear, Macedonia and Magnesia. To these advantages of position are added the greatest healthfulness and an abundance of unfailing water, since numerous springs surround it.

LV. The Roman consul, being on his way to Thessaly with his army during these same days, first made a rapid march through Epirus; then, after he crossed into Athamania, a land of rough and almost pathless terrain, with great difficulty by small roads he barely got through to Gomphi; while his men and horses were in trouble, and since he commanded a novice army, if the king had opposed him with a force advantageously arrayed as to time and place, even the Romans do not deny that they would have fought with great loss to themselves. After their arrival at Gomphi without opposition, besides the joy of having negotiated a dangerous pass, scorn of enemies who were so ignorant of their own advantages also came to them.[1] After sacrifice duly performed and a distribution of grain to the soldiers, the consul, delaying a few days to rest beasts and men, on hearing that the Macedonians were wandering scattered through Thessaly and that the territory of the allies was being plundered, led his now sufficiently refreshed soldiery to Larisa. When about three miles distant

strategic flank would have been wide open to hostile Thessaly. His actual march left him with direct communication with Macedonia, the flanking passes to the west guarded, and ground before him level enough for his type of fighting.

a.u.c. 583

ad Tripolim[1]—Scaeam vocant—super Peneum
7 amnem posuit castra. Per idem tempus Eumenes
ad Chalcidem navibus accessit cum Attalo atque
Athenaeo fratribus, Philetaero fratre relicto Pergami
8 ad tutelam regni. Chalcide cum Attalo et quattuor
milibus peditum, mille equitum ad consulem venit;
Chalcide relicta duo milia peditum, quibus Athenaeus
praepositus.[2] Et alia eodem auxilia Romanis ex
omnibus undique Graeciae populis convenerunt,
quorum pleraque—adeo parva erant[3]—in oblivionem
9 adducta. Apolloniatae trecentos equites centum
pedites miserunt. Aetolorum alae unius instar,
10 quantum ab[4] tota gente equitum[5] erat venerant, et
Thessalorum, quorum[6] omnis equitatus speratus[7]
erat, non plus quam trecenti erant equites[8] in castris
Romanis. Achaei iuventutis suae, Cretico maxime
armatu, ad mille quingentos dederunt.

LVI. Sub idem tempus et C. Lucretius praetor,
qui navibus praeerat ad Cephallaniam, M. Lucretio
fratre cum classe super Maleum Chalcidem iusso
petere, ipse triremem conscendit, sinum Corinthium
2 petens ad praeoccupandas in Boeotia res. Tardior
ei navigatio propter infirmitatem corporis fuit.
3 M. Lucretius, Chalcidem adveniens, cum a P.
Lentulo Haliartum oppugnari audisset, nuntium,

[1] abesset ad Tripolim *J. F. Gronovius*: adesse ai tripoli (*sic*) V.
[2] praepositus et alia *Fr.*: praetor praepositus alia et V.
[3] parva erant *Fr.*: paruerunt V. [4] ab *Fr.*: ad V.
[5] equitum *Fr.*: equitem V.
[6] quorum *add. Drakenborch*: *om.* V.
[7] speratus *Drakenborch*: partus V.
[8] equites *Fr.*: adquei (*sic*) V.

[1] About 500 men. [2] Below lviii. 14, there are 400 present.
[3] I.e. as slingers and other light troops.

from there, at Tripolis—they call it Scaea—above the B.C. 171
Peneüs river he pitched camp. During this same
time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with a fleet,
accompanied by his brothers Attalus and Athenaeus,
his brother Philetaerus having been left at Pergamum
for the protection of the kingdom. From Chalcis
he came with Attalus and four thousand infantry
and a thousand cavalry to the consul; at Chalcis
two thousand infantry were left under the com-
mand of Athenaeus. Also the other auxiliaries of
the Romans assembled at Tripolis from all the
peoples of Greece everywhere, many of whom—
so small were they—have come to oblivion. The
people of Apollonia sent three hundred cavalry
and one hundred infantry. From the Aetolians
there came the equivalent of one squadron,[1] the
total force of cavalry of the whole league, and of the
Thessalians, whose entire cavalry force had been
hoped for, not more than three hundred horsemen[2]
were in the Roman camp. The Achaeans contributed
of their young men, mostly with Cretan armament,[3]
about fifteen hundred.

LVI. At about the same time Gaius Lucretius
too, the praetor who commanded the ships at
Cephallania, ordering his brother Marcus Lucretius
to make for Chalcis around Malea with the fleet,
himself embarked on a trireme, sailing for the
Corinthian Gulf in order to be the first in the field
in Boeotia. His voyage was somewhat slow because
of his bodily weakness. Marcus Lucretius, on his
arrival at Chalcis, hearing that Haliartus was being
besieged by Publius Lentulus,[4] sent a messenger

[4] Roman garrison-commander at Thebes, in charge of Boeotia, cf. above xlvii. 12. Haliartus commanded the pass between eastern and western Boeotia.

A.U.C. 583 praetoris verbis qui abscedere eum inde iuberet, misit. Boeotorum iuventute, quae pars cum Romanis stabat, eam rem aggressus legatus a moenibus abscessit. Haec soluta obsidio[1] locum alteri novae obsidioni dedit; namque extemplo M. Lucretius cum exercitu navali, decem milibus armatorum, ad hoc duobus milibus regiorum, qui sub Athenaeo erant, Haliartum circumsedit; parantibusque iam oppugnare supervenit a Creusa praetor. Ad idem fere[2] tempus et ab sociis naves Chalcidem convenerunt, duae Punicae quinqueremes, duae ab Heraclea ex Ponto triremes, quattuor Chalcedone, totidem Samo, tum quinque Rhodiae quadriremes. Has praetor, quia nusquam erat maritimum bellum, remisit sociis. Et Q. Marcius Chalcidem navibus venit, Alope Phthiotica[3] capta, Larisa, quae Cremaste dicitur, oppugnata.

Cum hic status in[4] Boeotia esset, Perseus, cum ad Sycurium, sicut ante dictum est, stativa haberet, frumento undique circa ex agris convecto, ad vastandum Pheraeorum agrum[5] misit, ratus ad iuvandas sociorum urbes longius a castris abstractos deprehendi Romanos posse. Quos cum eo tumultu nihil motos animadvertisset, praedam quidem praeterquam hominum—pecora autem maxime omnis generis fuere—divisit[6] ad epulandum militibus.[7]

[1] obsidio *Fr.*: obsidio cuius V. [2] fere *Fr.*: facere V.
[3] Alope Phthiotica *Madvig*: halopetica V.
[4] in *Fr.*: inhisin V.
[5] agrum *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[6] divisit *Fr.*: dimisit V.
[7] *lacunam post* animadvertisset *susp. Madvig, post* militibus *Weissenborn, neutrubi ego.*

[1] The port of Thespiae, on the Corinthian Gulf.
[2] Cf. Polybius XXVII. 7. 14–16.

to order him in the name of the praetor to depart from there. The commissioner, who had undertaken this enterprise with the Boeotian young men of the party supporting the Romans, departed from the walls. The raising of this siege gave room for another new siege; for immediately Marcus Lucretius with the naval force, ten thousand men-at-arms, and in addition the two thousand king's men who were under Athenaeus, blockaded Haliartus; and while they were preparing also to assault it, the praetor joined them from Creüsa.[1] At about the same time ships from the allies also assembled at Chalcis—two Carthaginian quinqueremes, two triremes from Heraclea on the Euxine, four from Chalcedon, as many from Samos, and also five quadriremes from Rhodes.[2] These, since there was no naval warfare in any quarter, the praetor sent back to the allies. Quintus Marcius also came to Chalcis with ships, after capturing Alopê in Phthiotis and attacking Larisa which is called Cremastê.[3] B.C. 171

While this was the situation in Boeotia, and Perseus, as has been said above, had his permanent camp at Sycurium, after all the grain had been brought in from the fields round about, he sent a force to devastate the territory of Pherae, thinking that thus he might catch the Romans drawn a rather long distance from their camp for the purpose of aiding the cities of their allies. When he discovered that they had not stirred at all because of this raid, he divided all the booty at least, only the human beings excepted—it consisted chiefly of all sorts of livestock—among his soldiers for feasting.

[3] I.e. "Hanging Larisa," cf. above xlii. 1, and below lxvii. 10.

A.U.C. 583

LVII. Sub idem deinde tempus consilium et consul et rex habuerunt, unde bellum ordirentur. Regiis[1] creverant[2] animi vastatione concessa sibi ab hoste Pheraei agri; itaque eundum inde ad castra nec dandum ultra spatium cunctandi censebant. Et Romani sentiebant[3] cunctationem suam infamem apud socios esse, maxime indigne ferentes non latam Pheraeis opem. Consultantibus, quid agerent—aderant autem Eumenes et Attalus in consilio—trepidus nuntius adfert hostem magno agmine adesse. Consilio dimisso signum extemplo datur ut arma capiant.[4] Interim placet ex regiis auxiliis centum equites et parem numerum iaculatorum peditum exire. Perseus hora[5] ferme diei quarta, cum paulo plus mille passus abesset a castris Romanis, consistere signa peditum iussit; praegressus ipse cum equitibus ac levi armatura; et Cotys cum eo ducesque aliorum auxiliorum praecesserunt. Minus quingentos passus ab castris aberant, cum in conspectu fuere hostium equites; duae alae erant magna ex parte Gallorum—Cassignatus praerat—et levis armaturae centum fere et quinquaginta Mysi et Cretenses. Constitit rex, incertus quantae hostium copiae essent. Duas[6] inde ex agmine turmas Thracum, duas Macedonum cum binis Cretensium cohortibus et Thracum misit.

[1] ordirentur regiis *Madvig*: dirimentur regis V.
[2] creverant *Crévier*: creuerunt V.
[3] sentiebant *Madvig*: censebant V.
[4] capiant *Fr.*: placeat V.
[5] hora *add. Sigonius*: *om.* V.
[6] quantae hostium copiae essent. duas *Novák*: quanta esse duos esse duos V.

[1] If this number is right, a somewhat larger force was actually sent, cf. below § 7.

LVII. Then about the same time both the consul and the king held a council to consider how to open the campaign. The spirits of the king's men had risen when the devastated area of Pheraean territory had been yielded to their side by the enemy; and so they advised going thence at once against the enemy's camp and giving him no further time for delay. The Romans also were aware that their delay was being roundly criticized among their allies, who were especially incensed that aid had not been given the Pheraeans. While they were conferring as to what to do—for Eumenes and Attalus were present in the council—an alarmed messenger reported that the enemy was at hand with a large column. The council was dismissed and the signal for arming immediately given. Meanwhile it was decided to send out from the king's auxiliary troops a hundred[1] cavalry and an equal number of javelin-throwers on foot. At about the fourth hour of the day Perseus ordered the ranks of the infantry to halt at a distance of a little over a mile from the Roman camp; he himself led the way with the cavalry and light-armed force; Cotys too and the leaders of the other auxiliaries went on with him. They were less than half a mile from the camp when enemy cavalry came in sight; there were two squadrons made up mostly of Gauls[2]—Cassignatus was the commander—and of light-armed troops about one hundred and fifty Mysians and Cretans. The king halted, not being sure how large the enemy forces were. Then he sent from the column two troops of Thracians and two of Macedonians with two cohorts each of Cretans and Thracians. Since they

B.C. 171

[2] I.e. Galatians from Asia Minor.

A.U.C. 583

9 Proelium, cum[1] pares numero essent neque ab hac aut illa parte nova auxilia subvenirent, incerta victoria[2] finitum est. Eumenis ferme triginta interfecti, inter quos Cassignatus dux Gallorum cecidit. Et tunc quidem Perseus ad Sycurium 10 copias reduxit; postero die circa eandem horam in eundem locum rex copias admovit plaustris cum aqua sequentibus; nam duodecim milium passuum via[3] omnis sine aqua et plurimi pulveris erat; affectosque siti, si primo in conspectu dimicassent, 11 pugnaturos fuisse apparebat. Cum Romani quiessent, stationibus etiam intra vallum reductis, regii quoque in castra redeunt. Hoc per aliquot dies fecerunt, sperantes fore ut Romani equites abeuntium novissimum agmen aggrederentur; inde certa- 12 mine orto, cum[4] longius a castris eos elicuissent, facile, ubiubi essent, se, qui equitatu et levi armatura plus possent, conversuros aciem.

LVIII. Postquam inceptum non succedebat, castra propius hostem movit rex et a quinque milibus 2 passuum communivit.[5] Inde luce prima in eodem quo solebat loco peditum acie instructa, equitatum omem levemque armaturam ad castra hostium ducit. 3 Visus et plurium[6] et propior solito pulvis trepidationem in castris Romanis fecit. Et primo vix creditum nuntianti[7] est, quia prioribus continuis diebus numquam ante horam quartam hostis apparu- 4 erat; tum solis ortus erat. Deinde ut plurium clamore et cursu a portis dubitatio exempta est,

[1] proelium, cum *Grynaeus*: proelium esset cum V.
[2] incerta victoria *Grynaeus*: incertam victoriam V.
[3] via *add. Fr.*: *om.* V. [4] cum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] passuum communivit *Novák*: passum communi V.
[6] plurium *Fr.*: plurimum V.
[7] nuntianti *Fr.*: nuntiatum V.

were equally matched as to numbers and from B.C. 171 neither the one side nor the other were reinforcements sent up, the battle ended in a draw. Of Eumenes' men about thirty were killed, among whom Cassignatus, leader of the Gauls, fell. And for the time being Perseus led back his forces to Sycurium; on the next day at about the same hour to the same place the king brought up his troops, followed by wagons with water; for the journey of twelve miles was all waterless and exceedingly dusty; it was clear that they would have fought under the handicap of thirst if the battle had begun at the first sight of the foe. When the Romans kept quiet, even withdrawing their outposts within the rampart, the king's men also returned to camp. This they did during several days, hoping that the Roman cavalry would attack the rear of their departing column; then after a fight had begun, when they had lured them too far from camp, they could easily, wheresoever they might be, turn the tide of battle by their superior power in cavalry and light troops.

LVIII. After the attempt failed of success, the king moved his camp nearer the enemy and fortified it at five miles' distance. From there at dawn he drew up his battle-line of infantry in the usual place and led all his cavalry and light troops to the camp of the enemy. The sight of dust nearer to them and from a larger force than usual caused alarm in the Roman camp. At first they hardly believed their sentry's report, because regularly on previous days the enemy had never appeared before the fourth hour; this time it was at sunrise. Then as doubt vanished at the shouting and dashing

A.U.C. 583

tumultus ingens oboritur. Tribuni praefectique et centuriones in praetorium, miles ad sua quisque tentoria discurrit. Minus quingentos passus a vallo instruxerat Perseus suos circa tumulum quem Callinicum[1] vocant. Laevo cornu Cotys rex praeerat cum omnibus suae gentis; equitum ordines levis armatura interposita distinguebat. In dextro cornu Macedones erant equites, intermixti turmis eorum Cretenses; huic armaturae Midon Beroeaeus, equitibus et summae partis eius Meno Antigonensis praeerat. Proximi cornibus[2] constiterant regii equites, et mixtum genus, delecta plurium gentium auxilia; Patrocles Antigonensis his et Paeoniae praefectus Didas erant praepositi. Medius omnium rex erat; circa eum agema quod vocant, equitumque sacrae[3] alae. Ante se statuit funditores iaculatoresque:[4] quadringentorum manus utraque numerum explebat; Ionem[5] Thessalonicensem et Artemona Dolopem[6] iis praefecit. Sic regii constiterant. Consul intra vallum peditum acie instructa et ipse equitatum omnem cum levi armatura emisit; pro vallo instructi sunt. Dextro cornu praepositus C. Licinius Crassus, consulis frater, cum omni

[1] Callinicum *Madvig*: callicinum V.
[2] cornibus *Fr.*: cornicibus V.
[3] equitumque sacrae *Fr.*: equitum sacraeque V.
[4] iaculatores *Fr.*: iaculatoresque equitumquae equitum V.
[5] Ionem *Fr.*: rationem V.
[6] Artemona Dolopem *Madvig*: certimanoptolopemum V.

[1] I.e. of Glorious Victory.

[2] This name (cf. below lxvi. 5, XLIV. xlii. 2) is not used by other extant writers; it might mean the "royal squadron" of Cavalry Companions (Arrian, *Anabasis*, III. 11. 8). which was also called *agema* ("Guard"), cf. Antiochus' Horse-Guard,

back from the gates of a larger number of men, a great confusion arose. The tribunes, prefects and centurions rushed to headquarters, the rank-and-file each to his own tent. Less than half a mile from the rampart Perseus drew up his men about the hill which they call Callinicus.[1] King Cotys was in charge of the left wing with all his tribesmen; light-armed troops, placed between, divided the units of cavalry. On the right wing were Macedonian cavalry, and Cretans interspersed among their troops; Midon of Beroea was in charge of the latter force, Menon of Antigonea commanded the cavalry and the formation as a whole. Next to the wings were posted the royal cavalry and mixed units of the picked auxiliaries of many nations; Patrocles of Antigonea and Didas the governor of Paeonia were in command of these. The king was in the centre of the whole line; around him was what they call the Guard, and the sacred squadrons[2] of the cavalry. Before him he placed the slingers and javelin-throwers; each band attained to the number of four hundred; Ion of Thessalonica and Artemon, a Dolopian, he put in command of these. Thus the king's men were arrayed. After the Roman infantry had been drawn up within the rampart, the consul likewise sent out all his cavalry with the light troops; they were arrayed before the rampart. On the right wing the commander was Gaius Licinius Crassus, the brother of the consul, with all the Italian cavalry, B.C. 171

XXXVII. xl. 6 and 11, especially if the *agema* here mentioned was the Foot-Guard of peltasts (above li. 4, and the note). Sage's note on Antiochus' Guard (*loc. cit.*) suggests that *sacrae alae* defines *agema* here. The name "sacred" may have been used on analogy with the Sacred Band of Thebes under Pelopidas, cf. Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, xviii.

A.U.C. 583

Italico equitatu, velitibus[1] intermixtis; sinistro M. Valerius Laevinus sociorum ex Graecis populis equites habebat et[2] eiusdem gentis levem armaturam;
13 mediam autem aciem cum delectis equitibus extraordinariis tenebat Q. Mucius. Ducenti equites Galli ante signa horum instructi et de auxiliis
14 Eumenis Cyrtiorum gentis trecenti. Thessali quadringenti equites parvo intervallo super laevum cornu locati. Eumenes rex Attalusque cum omni manu sua ab tergo inter postremam aciem ac vallum steterunt.

LIX. In hunc modum maxime instructae acies, par ferme utrimque numeris equitum ac levis armaturae, concurrunt, a funditoribus iaculatori-
2 busque qui praecesserant[3] proelio orto. Primi omnium Thraces, haud secus quam[4] diu claustris retentae ferae, ita concitati cum ingenti clamore in dextrum cornu, Italicos equites, incurrerunt ut[5]
3 usu belli et ingenio impavida gens turbaretur . . . . hastas petere pedites . . . . nunc succidere crura

[1] velitibus *Fr.*: ut uelitis V.
[2] et *add. Drakenborch*: *om.* V.
[3] praecesserant *Madvig*: praecesserunt V.
[4] haud secus quam *Fr.*: ut secus quidem V.
[5] ut *Fr.*: et V.

[1] These were not unlike the Greek peltasts, but used more as mere skirmishers, cf. XXVI. iv (this represents the first time they were used for an important service), XXX. xxxiii. 3, XXXI. xxxv. 5. The *velites* disappear from the Roman army not long after this time, as foreign auxiliaries replace them. For their arms, cf. Polybius VI. 22.

and the light infantry of the legions[1] intermingled; B.C. 171
on the left Marcus Valerius Laevinus had the allied cavalry from the peoples of Greece and the light troops of the same nation; the centre, however, Quintus Mucius held with the picked Élite Cavalry.[2] Before the standards of the centre were arrayed two hundred Gallic cavalry and three hundred of Eumenes' Cyrtian[3] auxiliaries. Four hundred Thessalian cavalry were placed at a short distance beyond the left wing. King Eumenes and Attalus with all their forces were posted behind, between the rear line and the rampart.

LIX. Drawn up in very nearly this fashion and with numbers of cavalry and light troops about even on both sides, the lines clashed, the battle beginning with the slingers and javelin-throwers, who were in advance. First of all the Thracians, like beasts of prey long held behind bars, charged so vigorously with a great shout upon the Roman right wing, the Italian cavalry, that this people, courageous by nature and through experience in war,[4] was thrown into confusion . . . spears to attack the infantry . . .[5] now to

[2] These were selected from the rest of the cavalry as the fittest, cf. Polybius, VI. 26. 6.
[3] Nomad brigands from the Kurd country in northwest Persia, cf. XXXVII. xl. 9.
[4] Apparently exceptions to the rule of inexperience, above lv. 3.
[5] The words introducing the account of the melée have entirely disappeared; the sense and construction of the three isolated words is not clear; some scholars restore two more words, "phalanx," and *rumpiis* (long Thracian spears, cf. XXXI. xxxix. 11) which do not seem to fit the context. (So E. S., cf. critical note 1 on p. 474; but the spears might have been used "to pierce their loins," cf. the alternative text in the note.)

A.U.C. 583

4 equis, nunc ilia suffodere.[1] Perseus, in mediam invectus aciem, Graecos primo impetu avertit; quibus fusis cum gravis ab tergo instaret hostis, Thessalorum equitatus, qui a laevo[2] cornu brevi spatio diiunctus in subsidiis fuerat extra concursum, primo spectator certaminis, deinde inclinata re 5 maximo usui[3] fuit. Cedentes enim sensim integris ordinibus, postquam se Eumenis auxiliis adiunxerunt, et cum eo tutum inter ordines suos receptum sociis fuga dissipatis dabant et, cum minus conferti hostes instarent, progredi etiam ausi multos fugientium 6 obvios exceperunt. Nec regii, sparsi iam ipsi passim sequendo, cum ordinatis et certo incedentibus[4] 7 gradu manus conserere audebant. Cum victor equestri proelio rex parvo momento si adiuvisset debellatum esse clamaret,[5] et opportune adhortanti supervenit phalanx quam sua sponte, ne audaci coepto deessent, Hippias et Leonnatus raptim adduxerant, postquam prospere pugnasse equitem 8 acceperunt. Fluctuante rege[6] inter spem metumque[7] tantae rei conandae Cretensis Euander,

[1] *sic fere edd. Legimus in* v turbareturtr ec [su]b [pal]a [n] gishastaspeterepedites . . . [equor]umque i (*sic*) nuncsucciderecrurarumpisnunciliasuffodere (*litterae inclusae incertae sunt*). *Mentionem phalangis factam esse licet suspicari, sed phalanx nondum proelio intererat* (*vid. sect. 7, infra*). *Vocabulum* rumpiis *latere Giarratano vidit, sed gladio non rumpia opus est ad equorum crura succidenda. Despero.* (E. S.) *At legere possumus:* equorumque ii nunc succidere crura, rumpiis nunc illa suffodere. (E. H. Warmington.)

[2] qui a laeuo *Fr.*: qui a leo, *ut vid.* V.

[3] maximo usui *Fr.*: maxum usui V.

[4] incedentibus *Fr.*: indendentibus V.

[5] clamaret *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.

cut off the horses' legs, now to pierce their loins. B.C. 171
Perseus, charging the centre of the line, thrust back the Greeks with his first attack;[1] in the rout of these when the enemy pressed heavily from the rear, the Thessalian cavalry, which had been in support, away a short distance from the left wing and beyond the melée, though at first spectators of the conflict, were later, when the decision had been reached, of the greatest use. For, retreating gradually with formation intact, after they had joined the auxiliaries of Eumenes, with him they both provided a safe retreat between their units for their allies scattered in flight, and when the enemy pressed on in less close order, they even risked advancing and met many of the fugitives half-way. Nor did the king's men, now themselves scattered in a general pursuit, dare to close in battle with an enemy in formation and advancing steadily. While the king, victorious in the cavalry battle, was crying out that if he had helped with a slight impulse a decisive victory would have been won, the phalanx also arrived appropriately at the very moment of his urging; Hippias and Leonnatus had brought the phalanx up swiftly on their own initiative, in order not to fail the bold beginning, after they had received the report that the cavalry had won their battle. While the king was wavering between hope and fear of attempting so great a feat, the Cretan Evander, whom the

[1] Livy fails to mention the Roman Élite Cavalry, either out of confusion, or because weakness in the Aetolian contingent at this point was regarded as the cause of the whole Roman debacle, cf. below lx. 9.

[6] fluctuante rege *Fr.*: fluctuanti regi V.

[7] metumque *Fr.*: metumque ac V.

A.U.C. 583

quo ministro Delphis ad insidias Eumenis regis usus[1] erat, postquam agmen peditum[2] venientium
9 sub signis vidit, ad regem accurrit et monere institit ne elatus felicitate summam rerum temere in non
10 necessariam aleam daret; si contentus bene re gesta quiesset eo die, vel pacis honestae condicionem habiturum vel plurimos belli socios qui fortunam sequerentur si bellare mallet. In hoc consilium
11 pronior erat animus regis. Itaque collaudato Euandro signa referri peditumque agmen redire in castra iubet, equitibus receptui canere.[3]

LX. Cecidere eo die ab Romanis ducenti equites, duo milia haud minus peditum; capti sescenti ferme.[4] Ex regiis autem viginti equites, quadra-
2 ginta pedites interfecti. Postquam rediere in castra victores, omnes quidem laeti, ante alios Thracum insolens laetitia eminebat;[5] cum cantu enim superfixa hastis[6] capita hostium portantes redierunt.
3 Apud Romanos non maestitia tantum ex male gesta re, sed pavor etiam erat ne extemplo castra hostis aggrederetur. Eumenes consuli[7] suadere, ut trans Peneum transferret castra, ut pro munimento amnem[8] haberet, dum perculsi milites animos colligerent. Consul moveri flagitio timoris fatendi;

[1] usus *Fr.*: usus usus V.
[2] peditum *Perizonius*: impeditum V.
[3] canere *Fr.*: caneretre V.
[4] capti sescenti ferme *Madvig*: captiac.fermecc.equites. (*sic*) V.
[5] eminebat *Fr.*: minabat V.
[6] hastis *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[7] consuli *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[8] amnem *Fr.*: manem V.

[1] Cf. above xv. 3 ff.

king had used as his tool at Delphi in the ambushing B.C. 171
of Eumenes,[1] on seeing the column of infantry with their standards advancing, ran to the king and pressed the warning that he should not be so puffed up by good fortune as to stake his whole enterprise rashly on a needless throw of the dice; if, satisfied with his success, he should rest for that day, either he would have a basis for an honourable peace or an abundance of such allies in war as would follow the lead of fortune, in case he should prefer to fight. To this advice the mind of the king was more inclined. And so, praising Evander, he ordered a withdrawal, and that the column of infantry should return to camp, while for the cavalry the signal for returning should be sounded.

LX. That day there fell on the Roman side two hundred cavalry, and hardly less than two thousand infantry; about six hundred were captured.[2] Of the king's men, however, twenty cavalrymen and forty infantrymen were killed. After the victors returned to camp, all indeed rejoiced, but above the others the swaggering joy of the Thracians was conspicuous; for they returned bearing with songs the heads of their enemies impaled on spears. On the Roman side there was not only gloom because of their lack of success, but also fear that the enemy might immediately attack the camp. Eumenes advised the consul to move his camp across the Peneüs, so that he might have the river as a fortification while the soldiers were recovering their shattered morale. The consul was affected by the disgrace

[2] Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* ix. 2, gives the loss in dead as 2500; in *Sayings of Romans* 197 F (L.C.L., *Moralia* III., p. 173) the total dead and captured are given as 2800, as here.

A.U.C. 583

4 victus tamen ratione, silentio noctis transductis
5 copiis, castra in ulteriore ripa communivit.[1] Rex[2] postero die ad lacessendos proelio hostes progressus, postquam trans amnem in tuto posita castra animadvertit, fatebatur quidem peccatum quod pridie non institisset victis, sed aliquanto maiorem culpam
6 esse quod nocte foret cessatum; nam, ut neminem alium suorum moveret, levi armatura immissa trepidantium in transitu fluminis hostium deleri
7 magna ex parte copias potuisse. Romanis quidem praesens pavor[3] demptus erat, in tuto castra habentibus; damnum inter cetera praecipue famae movebat.
8 Et in consilio apud consulem pro se quisque in Aetolos conferebant causam: ab iis[4] fugae terroris-
9 que principium ortum; secutos pavorem Aetolorum et ceteros socios Graecorum populorum. Quinque principes Aetolorum, qui primi terga vertentes
10 conspecti dicebantur, Romam missi.[5] Thessali pro contione laudati, ducesque eorum etiam virtutis causa donati.

LXI. Ad regem spolia caesorum hostium refere-
2 bantur. Ex[6] his aliis arma insignia, aliis[7] equos, quibusdam captivos dono dabat. Scuta erant supra mille quingenta;[8] loricae thoracesque mille amplius

[1] communivit *Madvig*: communivi V.
[2] rex *Fr.*: rexex V.
[3] pavor *Fr.*: fauor V.
[4] causam ab iis *Fr.*: causa ab is V.
[5] Romam missi *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[6] ex *Drakenborch*: done ex V.
[7] insignia aliis *Fr.*: in sicilia aliquis V.
[8] quingenta *Fr.*: a (*sic*) V. *ut et alibi.*

[1] Polybius, XXVII. 15. 14, regarded the charge against the Aetolians as a piece of party politics originated by their countryman, the general Lyciscus, and foolishly believed by

of admitting timidity; but being overcome by reason, B.C. 171
he led his troops across in the dead of night and fortified a camp on the farther bank. The king came up next day to harass the enemy with battle, and, after finding out that the camp had been placed in safety across the river, admitted that he had indeed been at fault in not having pressed home the previous day his attack against the conquered, but that a somewhat greater mistake was that he had been inactive during the night; for even if he had not stirred one other man of his forces, he could, by an attack of the light troops, have to a great extent destroyed the enemy's troops while they were in confusion as they crossed the river. For the Romans indeed the immediate fear was removed, since they had a camp safely placed; but the loss, among other things, of reputation particularly disturbed them. And in the conference before the consul each in his own defence assigned the blame to the Aetolians; the beginning, they said, of the flight and panic had been made by them; the other allies from the peoples of Greece had also followed the rout of the Aetolians. Five chiefs of the Aetolians, who were the first said to have been seen turning their backs, were sent to Rome.[1] The Thessalians were praised before an assembly, and their leaders were even awarded presents for valour.

LXI. To the king were brought the spoils of the slain enemy. Of these he gave as gifts, to some the noteworthy arms, to others horses, and to some few prisoners. There were over fifteen hundred shields; coats of mail and breastplates made up a total of

the Romans. Cf. Appian, *Macedonian Wars*, IX. xii: Αἰτωλῶν δὲ καὶ ἑτέρων Ἑλλήνων κατεψεύσατο ὡς πρῶτω τραπέντων.

A.U.C. 583

summam explebant; galearum gladiorumque et missilium omnis generis maior aliquanto numerus. 3 Haec per se ampla laetaque [1] multiplicata verbis regis, quae ad contionem vocato exercitu habuit.

4 " Praeiudicatum eventum belli habetis. Meliorem partem hostium, equitatum Romanum, quo invictos 5 se esse gloriabantur,[2] fudistis. Equites enim illis principes iuventutis, equites seminarium [3] senatus; inde lectos in patres [4] consules, inde imperatores creant: horum spolia paulo ante divisimus inter 6 vos. Nec minorem de legionibus peditum victoriam habetis, quae nocturna fuga vobis subtractae naufragorum trepidatione passim natantium flumen 7 compleverunt. Sed facilius nobis sequentibus victos Peneum superare erit quam illis trepidantibus fuit; transgressique extemplo castra [5] oppugnabimus quae 8 hodie cepissemus ni fugissent; aut si acie decernere volent, eundem pugnae pedestris eventum expectate, 9 qui equitum in certamine fuit." [6]

Et qui vicerant alacres, spolia caesorum hostium umeris gerentes, decora [7] sua audivere, ex eo quod [8] 10 acciderat spem futuri praecipientes,[9] et pedites aliena

[1] ampla laetaque *Weissenborn*: ampletaquae V.
[2] gloriabantur *Fr.*: locriabantur V.
[3] seminarium *Fr.*: feminarium V.
[4] in patres *Madvig*: inpatrum V.
[5] transgressique extemplo castra *Fr.*: etransgressi qua exemplo castram (*sic*) V.
[6] fuit *Ruperti*: fuerit V.
[7] decora *J. F. Gronovius*: da.ora (*sic*) V.
[8] ex eo quod *Fr.*: et ex quo eo V.
[9] praecipientes *Fr.*: praeponentes V.

[1] Cf. II. xx. 10–11, IX. xiv. 14–16, X. xxviii. 7, and Polybius VI. 20. 9; but not all the cavalry were young men of high rank, cf. XXX. xviii. 15, where the *equites illustres* are specially mentioned, and XXXIX. xxxi. 16; the transition from a cavalry composed of noble citizens to one composed of foreign auxiliaries was at this time under way.

over a thousand; of helmets, swords and missiles B.C. 171 of all sorts the number was somewhat greater. These gifts, splendid and agreeable in themselves, were augmented by the words of the king, which he pronounced before the army summoned to assembly.

" You have advance notice of the outcome of the war! You have routed the better part of the enemy, the Roman cavalry, in which they used to boast that they were unconquered. For among the Romans the cavalrymen are the leading young men,[1] the cavalry is the training-school for the senate; from it their consuls are chosen to be among the Fathers; from it they select their generals: it is the spoils of these men which we have recently divided among you. And no less a victory have you over the legions of the infantry, which, escaping from you by a night retreat, filled the river everywhere with the panic of shipwrecked swimmers. But it will be easier for us as we pursue the conquered to pass over the Peneüs than it was for them in their panic; once we have crossed, we shall immediately attack their camp, which we would have captured to-day if they had not fled; or if they wish to decide the issue by battle in the open, look for the same outcome of the infantry fight as took place in the clash of the cavalry."

Both those who had conquered, wearing on their shoulders the spoils of the slain enemy, eagerly heard their own praises, anticipating a happy outcome in the future because of what had happened,

A.U.C. 583 gloria accensi, praecipue qui Macedonum phalangis erant, sibi quoque et navandae regi operae et similem gloriam ex hoste pariendi occasionem optabant. 11 Contione[1] dimissa, postero die profectus inde ad Mopselum posuit castra. Tumulus hic ante Tempe eminet et Larisa medius abest Gonnum eunti.[2]

LXII. Romani[3] non abscedentes ab ripa Penei 2 transtulerunt in locum tutiorem castra. Eo Misagenes Numida venit cum mille equitibus, pari peditum numero, ad hoc elephantis duobus et 3 viginti. Per eos dies consilium habenti regi de summa rerum[4] cum iam consedisset ferocia ab re bene gesta, ausi sunt quidam amicorum consilium dare ut secunda fortuna in condicionem honestae pacis uteretur potius quam spe vana evectus in 4 casum irevocabilem se daret. Modum imponere secundis rebus nec nimis credere serenitati praesentis[5] fortunae, prudentis[6] hominis et merito felicis esse. 5 Mitteret[7] ad consulem qui foedus in easdem leges renovarent, quibus Philippus pater[8] eius pacem 6 ab[9] T. Quinctio victore accepisset. Neque finiri[10] bellum magnificentius quam ab tam[11] memorabili pugna posse,[12] neque[13] spem firmiorem pacis perpetuae dari quam quae perculsos adverso proelio Romanos 7 molliores factura sit ad paciscendum. Quodsi Ro-

[1] optabant. contione *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[2] hic . . . eunti *Madvig*: hycante tempeste est eminet larisa medius abest onum V.
[3] Romani *add. Fr.*: *om.* V. [4] rerum *add. Crévier*: *om.* V.
[5] serenitati praesentis *Fr.*: serenitate praesenti V.
[6] prudentis *Fr.*: praesentis V.
[7] esse. mitteret *Fr.*: essetmittere V.
[8] pater *Fr.*: frater V.
[9] ab *Kreyssig*: b(*sic*) V. [10] finiri *Fr.*: sinere V.
[11] ab tam *Kreyssig*: apta V.
[12] posse *add. Crévier*: *om.* V. [13] neque *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

and also the infantry, fired by the glory which others B.C. 171 had won, especially those of the Macedonian phalanx, hoped for themselves also an opportunity both of achieving some service for the king and of winning a like glory from the enemy. The assembly was dismissed. Next day the king set out from there and pitched camp at Mopselus. This is a hill looming up before Tempê and halfway as one goes from Larisa to Gonnus.

LXII. The Romans, not departing from the bank of the Peneüs, transferred their camp to a safer place. There Misagenes the Numidian arrived with a thousand cavalry, an equal number of infantry, and in addition twenty-two elephants. As during these days the king was holding a council concerning his general policy, now that his overboldness resulting from success had subsided, some of his friends took courage to advise him to use his good fortune as a basis for an honourable peace rather than, led astray by idle hope, to throw himself into irrevocable disaster. To impose restraint on success and not to trust too much to the calm of his present fortune, they said, was the way of a wise man and one who was deservedly fortunate. Let him send to the consul men to renew the treaty on the same terms as those on which his father Philip had received peace from the victorious Titus Quinctius.[1] The war could not be ended more gloriously than with so memorable a fight, nor could a more well-founded hope of lasting peace present itself than that which would make the Romans, shaken by the loss of a battle, more moderate in framing the treaty. But

[1] Cf. XXXIII. xxx; on Perseus' policy, cf. Polybius XXVII. 8.

A.U.C. 583

mani tum quoque insita pertinacia aequa aspernarentur, deos hominesque et moderationis Persei et illorum pervicacis superbiae futuros testes. Numquam ab talibus consiliis abhorrebat regis animus. Itaque ut [1] plurium assensu comprobata est sententia, legati ad consulem missi; adhibito frequenti consilio [2] auditi sunt. Pacem petiere,[3] vectigal quantum Philippus pactus esset, daturum Persea Romanis pollicentes; urbibus agris locisque quibus Philippus cessisset cessurum quam [4] primum. Haec legati. Summotis his cum consultarent, Romana constantia vicit in consilio. Ita tum mos erat in adversis rebus [5] voltum secundae fortunae gerere, moderari animo in secundis. Responderi placuit ita pacem dari si de summa rerum liberum senatui permittat rex de se deque universa Macedonia statuendi ius. Haec cum renuntiassent legati, miraculo ignaris Romani [6] moris pertinacia esse,[7] et plerique vetare amplius mentionem pacis facere; ultro mox quaesituros quod oblatum fastidiant. Perseus hanc ipsam

[1] ut *add. Novák* : *om.* V.
[2] ad. fr. con. *bis scripsit* V.
[3] petiere *Perizonius* : petere V.
[4] cessurum quam *Perizonius* : caesarum V.
[5] adversis rebus *Fuegner* : aduersus V.
[6] Romani *add. Madvig* : *om.* V.
[7] esse *Madvig* : morisesse V.

[1] Strictly speaking, Philip had paid a war-indemnity, not a tribute.

[2] Examples of this Roman virtue may be found in XXII. lxi. 1 and 13, cf. *ibid.* xxxvii. 3.

[3] Cf. Polybius XXVII. 8. 7–10. "It was unanimously decided (by the Roman council) to give as severe a reply as possible, it being in all cases the traditional Roman custom

if then too the innate stubbornness of the Roman should scorn fair terms, gods and men would be witnesses both of Perseus' moderation and of his opponents' stiff-necked haughtiness. The king's mind was never averse to such counsels. And so as the opinion was approved by the assent of the majority, envoys were sent to the consul; they were heard in the presence of a full council. They asked for peace, promising that Perseus would pay the Romans as much tribute [1] as Philip had promised, and that he would yield with all speed the cities, land and places which Philip had yielded. So far the envoys. When after the withdrawal of the envoys the matter was discussed, Roman steadfastness [2] carried the day in the council. The custom of that age was to wear in misfortune the aspect of success and to be of temperate disposition in successes. It was decided to reply that peace would be granted on condition that the king should give to the senate the unconditional right of deciding on a general policy concerning the king himself and concerning all Macedonia.[3] When the envoys reported these terms, to those ignorant of the Roman character their obstinacy was portentous, and many advised against any further reference to peace; for soon, they said, the Romans would of their own accord seek what they scorned when offered. Perseus

B.C. 171

to show themselves most imperious and severe in the season of defeat, and most lenient after success. That this is noble conduct every one will confess, but perhaps it is open to doubt if it is possible under certain circumstances. In the present case, then, their answer was as follows. They ordered Perseus to submit absolutely, giving the senate authority to decide as they saw fit about the affairs of Macedonia" (tr. Paton, L.C.L.).

A.U.C. 583

superbiam—quippe ex fiducia virium esse—timere, et summam pecuniae augens, si pretio pacem emere posset, non destitit animum consulis temptare. Postquam nihil ex eo quod primo responderat mutabat, desperata pace ad Sycurium unde profectus erat redit, belli casum de integro temptaturus.

LXIII. Fama equestris pugnae vulgata per Graeciam nudavit voluntates hominum. Non enim solum qui partis Macedonum erant, sed plerique ingentibus Romanorum obligati beneficiis, quidam vim superbiamque experti Persei,[1] laeti eam famam accepere, non ob [2] aliam causam quam pravo studio, quo etiam in certaminibus ludicris volgus utitur, deteriori atque infirmiori favendo.

[1] Persei *add. Weissenborn* : *om.* V.
[2] ob *Fr.* : ab V.

[1] Polybius XXVII. 9 illustrates this sentiment with an anecdote of the Olympic Games: "The phenomenon was very like what happens in boxing contests at the games. For there, when a humble and much inferior combatant is matched against a celebrated and seemingly invincible athlete, the sympathy of the crowd is at once given to the inferior man. They cheer him on, and back him up enthusiastically; and if he manages to touch his opponent's face, and gets in a blow that leaves any mark, there is at once again the greatest excitement among them all. They sometimes even try to make fun of the other man, not out of any dislike for him or disapproval but from a curious sort of sympathy and a natural instinct to favour the weaker. If, however, one calls their attention at the right time to their error, they very soon change their minds and correct it. This was what Clitomachus did, as is told. He was considered to be a quite invincible boxer, and his fame had spread over the whole world, when Ptolemy, ambitious to destroy his reputation, trained with the greatest care and sent off the boxer Aristonicus, a man who seemed to have a remarkable natural gift

eared this very haughtiness—thinking that it sprang from confidence in their strength—and, increasing the sum of money, if perchance he might buy peace for a price, he did not cease to test the purpose of the consul. After the latter would make no change in the terms of his first answer, Perseus, giving up hope of peace, returned to Sycurium from whence he had set out, intending to try anew the fortunes of war. B.C. 171

LXIII. The report of the cavalry battle, as it spread abroad throughout Greece, laid bare the inclinations of the inhabitants. For not only partisans of Macedonia but many who were indebted to the Romans for huge benefits, and some few who had felt the violence and tyranny of Perseus, received this news gladly, for no other reason than the morbid eagerness which the mob feels in athletic contests also—the eagerness to cheer on the worse and weaker party.[1]

for this sport. Upon this Aristonicus arriving in Greece and challenging Clitomachus at Olympia, the crowd, it seems, at once took the part of the former and cheered him on, delighted to see that some one, once in a way at least, ventured to pit himself against Clitomachus. And when, as the fight continued, he appeared to be his adversary's match, and once or twice landed a telling blow, there was great clapping of hands, and the crowd became delirious with excitement, cheering on Aristonicus. At this time they say that Clitomachus, after withdrawing for a few moments to recover his breath, turned to the crowd and asked them what they meant by cheering on Aristonicus and backing him up all they could. Did they think he himself was not fighting fairly, or were they not aware that Clitomachus was now fighting for the glory of Greece and Aristonicus for that of King Ptolemy? Would they prefer to see an Egyptian conquer the Greeks and win the Olympian crown, or to hear a Theban and Boeotian proclaimed by the herald as victor in

A.U.C. 583

3 Eodem tempore in Boeotia summa vi Haliartum[1] Lucretius praetor oppugnabat;[2] et quamquam nec habebant externa auxilia obsessi praeter Coronaeorum iuniores, qui prima obsidione moenia intraverant neque sperabant, tamen ipsi animis magis quam 4 viribus resistebant. Nam et eruptiones in opera crebro faciebant, et arietem admotum nunc saxis ingentibus, nunc[3] libramento plumbi gravatum ad terram urguebant et, si qua declinare nequiverant[4] ictum, pro diruto muro novum tumultuario opere, raptim ex ipsa ruinae strage congestis saxis, extrue- 5 bant. Cum operibus lentior oppugnatio[5] esset, scalas per manipulos dividi praetor iussit, ut corona undique moenia aggressurus, eo magis suffecturam ad id multitudinem ratus, quod, qua parte palus urbem cingit, nec attinebat oppugnari nec poterat. 6 Ipse ab ea parte, qua duae turres quodque[6] inter eas muri fuerat corruerat,[7] duo milia militum delectorum admovit, ut[8] eodem tempore, quo ipse transcendere ruinas conaretur, concursu adversus se oppidanorum facto, scalis vacua defensoribus moenia capi parte 7 aliqua possent. Haud segniter oppidani vim[9] eius

[1] Haliartum *ed. Vascosana*: aliarum V.
[2] oppugnabat *Duker*: oppugnarat V.
[3] saxis ingentibus nunc *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[4] declinare nequiverant *Vahlen*: declinarent quiauguebant (*sic*) V.
[5] oppugnatio *add. Vahlen*: *om.* V.
[6] turres quodque *Fr.*: ut tresquoque V.
[7] corruerat *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[8] ut *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[9] vim *Fr.*: tum V.

the men's boxing-match? When Clitomachus had spoken thus, they say there was such a change in the sentiment of

At the same time in Boeotia Lucretius the praetor B.C. 171 was assaulting Haliartus with the utmost violence; and although the besieged had no reinforcements from outside except the younger men of Coronea, who had entered the walls at the beginning of the siege, and there was no hope of aid, yet they held out alone more by spirit than by strength. For they kept making frequent sallies against the siege-works and as the ram was brought up they pressed it to earth, weighing it down now with huge stones,[1] now with a mass of lead, and if they were at any point unable to turn aside the stroke, they built, in place of the destroyed wall, a new one of slapdash construction by hastily assembling stones from the very debris of the collapse. Since assault by siege-works was too slow, the praetor ordered ladders distributed among the maniples, intending to attack the wall everywhere, as it were in a ring, with the thought that his numbers would suffice the more surely for this purpose because, on the side where the swamp[2] girds the city, attack was neither important nor possible. On the side where two towers and the section of wall which had been between them had collapsed, he himself brought up two thousand picked troops so that at the same moment that he tried to scale the wreckage, as a rally of the townspeople took place to oppose him, the walls stripped of defenders might at some point or other be captured by the ladders. With no slackness the townsfolk

the crowd that now all was reversed, and Aristonicus was beaten rather by the crowd than by Clitomachus" (tr. Paton, L.C.L.).

[1] Cf. XXXVIII. v. 4.
[2] The margin of Lake Copaïs.

A.U.C. 583

arcere parant. Nam super stratum ruinis locum fascibus aridis sarmentorum iniectis stantes cum ardentibus facibus accensuros eam se saepem[1] minabantur, ut, incendio intersaepti ab hoste, spatium ad obiciendum interiorem murum haberent. 8 Quod inceptum eorum fors impedit; nam tantus repente effusus[2] est imber ut nec accendi facile 9 pateretur et extingueret accensa. Itaque et transitus per distracta fumantia virgulta patuit, et in unius loci praesidium omnibus versis[3] moenia quoque pluribus simul partibus scalis capiuntur. 10 In primo tumultu captae urbis seniores impubesque quos casus obvios obtulit passim caesi; armati in arcem confugerunt; et postero die, cum spei nihil superesset, deditione facta sub corona venierunt. 11 Fuerunt autem duo milia ferme et quingenti.[4] Ornamenta urbis, statuae et tabulae[5] pictae, et quidquid pretiosae praedae fuit, ad naves delatum; 12 urbs diruta a fundamentis. Inde Thebas[6] ductus exercitus; quibus sine certamine receptis urbem tradidit exulibus et qui Romanorum partis erant; adversae factionis hominum fautorumque regis ac Macedonum familias sub corona vendidit. His gestis in Boeotia ad mare ac naves redit.

LXIV. Cum haec in Boeotia gererentur, Perseus

[1] saepem *Madvig*: saepe V.
[2] effusus *Fr.*: est infusus V.
[3] versis *Fr.*: uerbis V.
[4] quingenti *Fr.*: a. (*sic*) V.
[5] et tabulae *Fr.*: tabulae et V.
[6] inde Thebas *Fr.*: intebanos V.

[1] Strabo IX. 2. 30 notes: "Haliartus no longer exists, having been destroyed in the war with Perseus, and the Athenians have the territory as a gift of the Romans." This is probably incorrect, as an inscription has been found indicating the existence of a community here subject to Athens. Pausanias (IX. 32. 5 ff.) found the site inhabited.

prepared to ward off his assault. For on the area strewn with wreckage they tossed dry bundles of brush and standing by with blazing torches threatened that they would fire this barrier, so that, barred off from the enemy by the blaze, they might have time to put an inner wall in the way. This preparation of theirs was hindered by chance; for such a rain suddenly poured down that it made the firing of the brush difficult and put out what had been fired. And so a passage lay open through the smoking twigs which were dragged aside and with all the citizens intent on the defense of one spot the walls too were taken by ladders in several places at once. In the first confusion of the city's capture the elders and the beardless whom chance brought in the way were cut down everywhere; the men-at-arms fled to the citadel; and the next day, when no ray of hope remained, on surrendering they were sold at auction. These were, moreover, about twenty-five hundred. The adornments of the city, statues and paintings and whatever costly booty there was, were taken to the fleet; the city was razed to the ground.[1] Thence the army was led to Thebes; this the praetor took over without struggle and put in the hands of the exiles and the party which favoured Rome; the estates[2] of the men of the opposing faction and of the supporters of the king and the Macedonians he sold at auction. After these achievements in Boeotia Lucretius returned to the sea and the fleet.

B.C. 171

LXIV. While these things in Boeotia were being

[2] Perhaps including the members of the families.

A.U.C. 583

2 ad Sycurium[1] stativa dierum aliquot habuit. Ubi cum audisset raptim Romanos circa ex agris demessum frumentum convehere, deinde ante sua quemque 3 tentoria spicas falcibus[2] desecantem, quo purius frumentum tereret, ingentes acervos per tota castra stramentorum[3] fecisse, ratus incendio opportuna esse, faces taedamque[4] et malleolos stuppae illitos pice parari iubet; atque ita media nocte profectus 4 ut prima luce aggressus falleret. Nequiquam primae stationes oppressae: tumultu ac terrore suo ceteros excitaverunt, signumque datum est arma extemplo capiendi; simulque in vallo, ad portas miles in- 5 structus erat. Tum vero pudore coeptae temere et inconsulte oppugnationis[5] castrorum Perseus extemplo[6] circumegit aciem et prima impedimenta ire, deinde peditum signa ferri iussit; ipse cum equitatu et levi armatura substitit ad agmen cogendum, ratus id quod accidit insecuturos ad extrema 6 ab tergo carpenda hostis. Breve certamen levis armaturae maxime cum procursatoribus fuit; equites peditesque sine tumultu in castra redierunt.

7 Demessis circa segetibus Romani ad Crannona, intactum agrum, castra movent. Ibi cum[7] securi et propter longinquitatem[8] et viae inopis aquarum difficultatem quae inter Sycurium et Crannona est, 8 stativa haberent, repente prima luce in[9] imminenti-

[1] ad Sycurium *Fr.*: assyrium V.
[2] falcibus *J. F. Gronovius*: fasicibus (*sic*) V.
[3] castra stramentorum *Fr.*: castramentorum V.
[4] faces taedamque *Fr.*: fastaedamque V.
[5] tum . . . oppugnationis *Heraeus*: et inconste oppugnationis V.
[6] extemplo *Madvig*: et extemplo V.
[7] movent. ibi cum *Fr.*: mouentibus ibi cum ibi cum V.
[8] longinquitatem *Vahlen*: cum longintate V.
[9] in *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

accomplished, Perseus remained a few days in camp B.C. 171 at Sycurium. When he heard there that the Romans were hastily bringing in reaped grain from the fields round about, and then, each before his own tent, was clipping the ears with his sickle, so that the grain might be threshed out more cleanly, and that they had made great piles of straw throughout the whole camp, the king thought that this was a time suitable for a conflagration, and ordered torches and pitch-pine and fire-spears of tow smeared with pitch[1] to be prepared, and with this equipment set out at midnight, so as to make a surprise attack at dawn. Vainly the first outposts were overwhelmed; by their uproar and panic they roused the rest, and the signal was given to take arms at once; at the same time the soldiery was posted on the rampart and at the gates. Then indeed, in shame at the rash and foolish beginning of an attack on the camp, Perseus at once wheeled his line around and ordered the baggage to go first, then the infantry to move out; he himself with the cavalry and light troops halted to form the rear-guard, thinking that the enemy would, as actually happened, pursue to harass the last units from behind. There was a short struggle particularly of the light troops against skirmishers; the cavalry and infantry returned without disturbance to camp.

After reaping the crops round about, the Romans moved their camp to Crannon, an untouched territory. There while they were remaining in camp with a feeling of safety, both because of the distance and the difficulty of the almost waterless road between Sycurium and Crannon, suddenly at dawn on com-

[1] Cf. XXI. viii. 10; XXXVIII. vi. 2.

A.U.C. 583

bus tumulis equitatus regius cum levi armatura visus ingentem tumultum fecit. Pridie per meridiem profecti ab Sycurio erant; peditum agmen sub 9 lucem reliquerant[1] in proxima planitie. Stetit paulisper Perseus[2] in tumulis, elici posse ratus ad equestre[3] certamen Romanos; qui[4] postquam nihil movebant, equitem mittit qui pedites referre ad Sycurium signa iuberet; ipse mox insecutus.[5] 10 Romani equites modico intervallo sequentes, sicubi sparsos ac dissipatos invadere possent, postquam confertos abire signa atque ordines servantes viderunt, et ipsi in castra redeunt.

LXV. Inde offensus longinquitate itineris[6] rex ad Mopselum castra movit; et Romani demessis Crannonis segetibus in Phalannaeum agrum trans- 2 eunt. Ibi cum ex transfuga cognosset rex sine ullo armato praesidio passim vagantis per agros Romanos metere, cum mille[7] equitibus, duobus milibus Thracum et Cretensium profectus, cum quantum accelerare poterat effuso agmine isset, improviso 3 aggressus est Romanos. Iuncta vehicula, pleraque onusta,[8] mille admodum capiuntur, sescenti[9] ferme 4 homines. Praedam custodiendam ducendamque in 5 castra trecentis Cretensium dedit; ipse revocato ab effusa caede equite et reliquis peditum ducit ad proximum praesidium, ratus haud magno certa- 6 mine opprimi posse. L. Pompeius tribunus militum

[1] lucem reliquerant *Fr.*: luce reliquerat V.
[2] Perseus *add. Held.*: *om.* V.
[3] equestre *Fr.*: equites V.
[4] qui *Fr.*: quattuor V.
[5] insecutus *Fr.*: insecuti V.
[6] itineris *Fr.*: itineri V.
[7] mille *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[8] onusta *Fr.*: honesta V.
[9] scscenti *Fr.*: ac. V.

manding hills the king's cavalry with the light troops B.C. 171 was sighted and caused a great uproar. They had set out from Sycurium during the middle of the previous day; just before dawn they had left the column of infantry in the nearest plain. Perseus halted a while on the hills, thinking that possibly the Romans might be enticed to a cavalry struggle; after they would not budge, he sent a horseman to order the infantry to return to Sycurium; he presently followed. The Roman cavalry followed at a moderate distance, so that they might at any point be able to attack scattered or straggling men, but after they saw that the enemy was retreating in a body, keeping to his formations and ranks, they also returned to camp.

LXV. From Sycurium the king, disliking the length of the journey, moved his camp to Mopselus; and the Romans, having reaped the harvests of Crannon, moved to the fields of Phalanna. When the king learned from a deserter that there the Romans were reaping, wandering everywhere through the fields with no armed guard, he set out with a thousand cavalry, and two thousand of the Thracians and Cretans, and since he marched with as great speed as he could attain, in a scattered column, he fell without warning upon the Romans. Wagons with their teams, many of them loaded, were captured to the number of quite a thousand, and about six hundred men. He gave the booty to three hundred Cretans to guard and bring to camp; he himself, recalling from the slaughter far and wide the cavalry and the rest of the infantry led them against the nearest guard detachment, thinking that with no great struggle it could be crushed. Lucius Pompeius,

A.U.C. 583

praeerat, qui perculsos milites repentino hostium adventu in propinquum tumulum recepit, loci se praesidio quia numero et viribus impar erat[1] de-
7 fensurus. Ibi cum in orbem milites coegisset, ut densatis scutis ab ictu[2] sagittarum et iaculorum sese tuerentur, Perseus circumdato armatis tumulo alios ascensum undique temptare iubet et comminus proelium conserere, alios eminus[3] tela in-
8 gerere. Ingens[4] Romanos terror circumstabat; nam neque conferti propellere[5] eos qui in tumulum conitebantur[6] poterant et, ubi ordines procursando
9 solvissent, patebant[7] iaculis sagittisque. Maxime cestrosphendonis vulnerabantur. Hoc illo bello[8] novum genus teli inventum est. Bipalme spiculum hastili semicubitali[9] infixum erat, crassitudine digiti;
10 huic abiegnae breves[10] pinnae tres, velut sagittis solent, circumdabantur; funda media duo scutalia imparia[11] habebat; cum maiori nisu[12] libratum funditor habena rotaret, excussum velut glans
11 emicabat. Cum et hoc et alio omni genere telorum pars vulnerata militum esset nec facile iam arma[13] fessi sustinerent, instare rex ut dederent se, fidem dare, praemia interdum polliceri. Nec cuiusquam

[1] impar erat *Fr.*: imperat V.
[2] scutis ab ictu *Duker*: secutis abiectus V.
[3] alios eminus *Fr.*: alios seminus V.
[4] ingens *Kreyssig*: religes V.
[5] propellere *Madvig*: propter V.
[6] conitebantur *Weissenborn*: conabantur V.
[7] patebant *Fr.*: putabant V.
[8] bello *Fr.*: bellum V.
[9] hastili semicubitali *Fr.*: astili cuitali V.
[10] abiegnae breves *Fr.*: ablegegraeue V.
[11] scutalia imparia *Ernesti*: duo cum alia inpari V.
[12] maiori nisu *Kreyssig*: maioris sinu V.
[13] arma *Fr.*: armi V.

military tribune, was in command; he withdrew B.C. 171
the soldiers, who were dismayed by the sudden arrival of the enemy, to a nearby hill, intending to defend himself by the strength of the position since he was no match in numbers and power. There when he had gathered his soldiers in a circle, so that with their close-packed shields they could protect themselves from the blows of arrows and javelins, Perseus, with his men-at-arms surrounding the hill, ordered some to try the ascent from all sides and join battle at close quarters, others to hurl weapons from a distance. A terrific threat surrounded the Romans, for when massed they could not thrust back those who were struggling up the hill, and whenever they broke ranks by charging forward, they were exposed to javelins and arrows. They suffered particularly from the dart-slings.[1] This was a new kind of weapon, invented in that war. A sharp iron two spans long was set in a wooden shaft of half a cubit, a finger in thickness; around this latter three short firwood " feathers," like those usual on arrows, were attached; the sling had in the middle two unequal thongs; when the slinger swung and spun it by the strap with an extra effort, the missile, shaken loose, shot out like a ball.[2] When with this and with every other sort of weapon part of the soldiers had been wounded and it was no longer easy for the weary men to hold up their weapons, the king urged them to surrender, gave them his guaranty, at times offered rewards. But no one's

[1] Cf. Polybius XXVII. 11. Another kind of elaborate sling is described in XXXVIII. xxix. 6.
[2] I.e. the usual leaden sling-bullet.

A.U.C. 583

ad deditionem flectebatur animus, cum ex insperato
12 iam obstinatis mori spes affulsit. Nam cum ex frumentatoribus refugientes quidam in castra nuntiassent consuli circumsideri praesidium, motus periculo tot civium—nam octingenti[1] ferme et omnes Romani erant—cum equitatu ac levi armatura (accesserant nova auxilia, Numidae pedites equitesque et elephanti) castris egreditur et tribunis militum imperat
13 ut legionum signa sequantur. Ipse velitibus ad firmanda levium armorum auxilia adiectis ad tumu-
14 lum praecedit.[2] Consulis latera tegunt Eumenes et[3] Attalus et Misagenes, regulus Numidarum.

LXVI. Cum in conspectu[4] prima signa suorum circumsessis fuerunt, Romanis quidem ab ultima[5]
2 desperatione recreatus est animus. Perseus, cui primum omnium fuerat ut contentus fortuito successu, captis aliquot frumentatoribus occisisque, non tereret
3 tempus in obsidione praesidii, secundum, ea quoque temptata utcumque, cum[6] sciret nihil roboris secum esse, dum liceret intacto abire, et ipse hostium adventum elatus successu mansit et, qui phalangem
4 arcesserent, propere misit; quae et[7] serius quam res postulabat et raptim acta, turbata cursu[8] adversus

[1] octingenti *Fr.*: accc. V.
[2] praecedit *Fr.*: praecedentis V.
[3] et *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[4] in conspectu *Fr.*: inspectu V.
[5] ultima *Fr.*: ultu V.
[6] cum *Fr.*: secum V. [7] quae et *Madvig*: quaet V.
[8] acta turbata cursu *Madvig*: aptatur turbati cursus V.

mind could be bent to surrender, when in unhoped- B.C. 171
for fashion hope dawned upon men who had already determined to die. For when a few of the foragers, taking refuge in the camp, reported to the consul that the guard was surrounded, he, moved by the danger of so large a number of citizens—for there were about eight hundred, and all Romans—with the cavalry and light troops (there were added the new auxiliaries, the Numidian infantry, cavalry and elephants) marched out of camp and instructed the military tribunes that the legionary units were to follow. He himself, adding the light infantry of the legions to strengthen the light-armed auxiliaries, marched ahead to the hill. Eumenes, Attalus, and Misagenes, the prince of the Numidians, covered the consul's flanks.[1]

LXVI. When the first standards of their fellows came in sight of the beleaguered, the spirits of the Romans indeed were revived from the depths of despair. Perseus, whose best course of all would have been to be satisfied with his chance success in capturing and killing a certain number of foragers, and not to waste time besieging the guard, or, as second best, after trying the latter enterprise too in some fashion, when he became aware that he had no strength on his side, to depart unscathed while he might—Perseus, puffed up by success, both awaited the approach of the enemy himself and sent men hastily to summon the phalanx; this being brought up later than circumstances required and in haste, would have come in confusion from its

[1] I interpret this phrase in the military sense, though a similar phrase is used to refer to personal escort, cf. XXXII. xxxix. 8, XL. vi. 4.

A.U.C. 583

instructos et praeparatos erat[1] adventura. Consul anteveniens extemplo proelium conseruit. Primo resistere Macedones; deinde, ut nulla re pares erant, amissis trecentis peditibus, viginti quattuor primoribus equitum ex ala,[2] quam sacram vocant, inter quos Antimachus etiam praefectus alae cecidit, abire conantur. Ceterum iter prope ipso proelio tumultuosius fuit. Phalanx[3] trepido nuntio accita cum raptim duceretur, primo in angustiis captivorum agmini oblata vehiculisque frumento onustis haesit.[4] Ingens ibi vexatio partis utriusque fuit, nullo expectante, dum utcumque[5] explicaretur agmen, sed armatis deicientibus[6] in[7] praeceps impedimenta—neque enim aliter via aperiri poterat—iumentis, cum[8] stimularentur in turba saevientibus. Vix ab incondito agmine captivorum expedierant sese, cum regio agmini perculsisque equitibus occurrunt. Ibi vero clamor iubentium referre signa ruinae quoque prope similem trepidationem fecit, ut, si[9] hostes intrare[10] angustias ausi longius insecuti essent, magna clades accipi potuerit. Consul recepto ex tumulo praesidio contentus modico successu[11] in castra copias reduxit. Sunt qui eo die magno proelio pugnatum auctores sint;[12] octo milia hostium

[1] erat *Madvig*: erant V. [2] ex ala *Fr.*: exalia V.
[3] phalanx *Novák*, phalansabs V: phalanx abs *Fr.*, *fortasse rectius*.
[4] onustis haesit *Bekker*: onustiiscaesis V.
[5] dum utcumque *J. F. Gronovius*: utrumque V.
[6] deicientibus *Kreyssig*: deitinentibus (*sic*) V.
[7] in *add. Heraeus*: *om.* V.
[8] cum *Fr.*: neque enim cum V.
[9] si *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[10] intrare *Madvig*: introre V.
[11] successu *Fr.*: corcessu V.
[12] sint *Sigonius*: sunt V.

forced march against men in formation and ready. B.C. 171
The consul, arriving first, immediately joined battle. At first the Macedonians stood fast; then, as they were in no respect equally matched, with a loss of three hundred infantry and twenty-four of their finest cavalrymen from the squadron which they call sacred,[1] among whom also fell Antimachus the squadron commander, they attempted to retreat. However, the march was almost more of a hurly-burly than the battle itself. While the phalanx, summoned by an alarmed messenger, was being hastily led up, first meeting the column of prisoners and the wagons laden with grain in some narrows, it was stuck. Thereupon there was great turmoil on both sides, with no one waiting till somehow or other the column should be disentangled, but with the men-at-arms hurling the obstructing wagons down the steep slope—for the road could not otherwise be cleared—and the draft-animals, as they were goaded, lashing out at the crowd. Hardly had they freed themselves from the disorganized column of prisoners when they ran into the king's column and the routed cavalry. Then indeed the shouting of those ordering a retreat also produced an alarm almost like a complete disaster, so that if the enemy, daring to enter the narrows, had pursued farther, a great loss might have been incurred. The consul, having picked up the guard from the hill and being satisfied with a moderate success, led his troops back to camp. There are those who declare that a great battle was fought on that day, that eight thousand of the enemy

[1] Cf. above, n. 2, p. 470.

A.U.C. 583 caesa, in his Sopatrum et Antipatrum, regios duces; vivos captos circiter duo milia octingentos, signa militaria capta viginti septem. Nec incruentam victoriam fuisse; supra quattuor milia et trecentos de exercitu consulis cecidisse; signa sinistrae alae quinque amissa.

LXVII. Hic dies et Romanis refecit animos et Persea perculit, ut dies paucos ad Mopselum moratus sepulturae maxime militum amissorum cura, praesidio satis valido ad Gonnum relicto, in Macedoniam reciperet copias. Timotheum quendam ex regiis praefectis cum modica manu relinquit ad Philam, iussum Magnetas ex[1] propinquo temptare. Cum Pellam venisset, exercitu in hiberna dimisso ipse cum Cotye Thessalonicam est profectus. Eo fama adfertur, Autlesbim, regulum Thracum, et[2] Corragum, Eumenis praefectum, in Cotyis fines impetum fecisse et regionem Marenen quam vocant cepisse. Itaque dimittendum Cotyn ad sua tuenda ratus, magnis proficiscentem donis prosequitur. Ducenta talenta, semestre stipendium, equitatui numerat, cum primo annuum[3] dare constituisset.

Consul postquam profectum Persea audivit, ad Gonnum castra movet, si potiri oppido posset. Ante ipsa Tempe in faucibus situm Macedoniae claustra tutissima praebet et in Thessaliam opportu-

[1] ex *Kreyssig*: et V.
[2] et *add. ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* V.
[3] annuum *Fr.*: anum V.

[1] Cf. XXXVIII. xiii. 3; Eumenes held Gallipoli and adjacent south-eastern Thrace, cf. XXXIX. xxvii. 5.

[2] Since the reckoning is given in Greek money, Livy seems to have followed Polybius here. On the stinginess of Perseus, cf. below, XLIV. xxvi., Polybius, XXIX. 8, 2–9, 13.

were killed, among them Sopater and Antipater, B.C. 171 officers of the king, that there were taken alive about two thousand and eight hundred, and that twenty-seven military standards were taken. Nor was the victory bloodless, they say; more than four thousand and three hundred of the consul's army fell, and five standards of the left squadron were lost.

LXVII. This day both revived the spirits of the Romans and dismayed Perseus, so that after a few days' delay at Mopselus, more especially to attend to the burial of the soldiers who had been lost, having left a sufficiently strong garrison at Gonnus he retreated to Macedonia. A certain Timotheus, one of the royal governors, he left with a small force at Phila, with orders to make overtures from near-by to the people of Magnesia. When the king arrived at Pella, he sent his army into winter quarters and himself left with Cotys for Thessalonica. There a report arrived that Autlesbis, a chieftain of the Thracians, and Corragus, Eumenes' governor,[1] had made an attack on the territory of Cotys and had captured the district called Marenê. Therefore Perseus thought best to send Cotys back to protect his own, and marked his departure by great gifts. He paid two hundred talents,[2] a half-year's pay, to the cavalry, although he had planned at first to give a full year's amount.

After the consul heard that Perseus had set out, he moved camp to Gonnus, in case he might be able to take the town. Placed in the entrance to Tempê itself, the town offers a very securely closed door to Macedonia and a sally-port to Thessaly favourable

A.U.C. 583

7 num Macedonibus decursum. Cum et loco et praesidio valido inexpugnabilis urbs [1] esset, abstitit incepto. In Perrhaebiam flexis [2] itineribus Malloea primo impetu capta ac direpta, Tripoli aliaque 8 Perrhaebia recepta, Larisam redit. Inde Eumene atque Attalo domum [3] remissis, Misageni [4] Numidisque hiberna in proximis Thessaliae urbibus distribuit, et partem exercitus ita per totam Thessaliam divisit ut et hiberna commoda omnes haberent [5] 9 et praesidio urbibus essent. Q. Mucium legatum cum duobus milibus ad obtinendam Ambraciam misit. Graecarum civitatium socios omnes praeter Achaeos dimisit.[6] Cum exercitus parte profectus in Achaiam Phthiotim Pteleum desertum fuga oppidanorum diruit a fundamentis, Antronas voluntate 10 incolentium [7] recepit. Ad Larisam deinde exercitum admovit. Urbs deserta erat; in arcem omnis multitudo concesserat; eam oppugnare aggreditur. 11 Primi omnium Macedones, regium praesidium, metu excesserant; a quibus relicti oppidani in deditionem extemplo veniunt. Dubitantem [8] inde utrum Demetrias prius aggredienda foret an in Boeotia aspiciendae res, Thebani vexantibus eos [9] Coronaeis in Boeotiam arcessebant. Ad [10] horum preces,[11] quia hibernis aptior regio quam Magnesia [12] erat, in Boeotiam duxit.

[1] urbs *J. F. Gronovius*: res V. [2] flexis *Fr.*: flexit V.
[3] domum *Fr.*: romam V.
[4] Misageni *Madvig*: misachin V.
[5] haberent *Fr.*: habent V.
[6] dimisit *Fr.*: dimisitcos (*sic*) V.
[7] voluntate incolentium *Madvig*: uoluntatem colentium V.
[8] dubitantem *Vahlen*: dubitari V. [9] eos *Fr.*: eius V.
[10] ad *Fr.*: et V. [11] preces *Fr.*: praeces V.
[12] Magnesia *Fr.* Magnesiae V.

to the Macedonians. Since both because of its B.C. 171 situation and its strong garrison the city was impregnable, the consul abandoned the undertaking. Having turned aside to Perrhaebia, after capturing Malloea at the first assault and sacking it, and recovering the Tripolis and the rest of Perrhaebia, he returned to Larisa. Thence having sent Eumenes and Attalus home, he assigned winter quarters in the nearest Thessalian cities to Misagenes and the Numidians, and scattered a portion of his army throughout all Thessaly in such a way that all had comfortable winter quarters and formed a protection for the cities. His staff-officer Quintus Mucius [1] he sent with two thousand to hold Ambracia. All the allies from the Greek states except the Achaeans he dismissed. With a part of his army he set out into Phthiotic Achaea,[2] razed to the ground Pteleum, which had been abandoned by the flight of its inhabitants, and received Antronae by voluntary surrender of the inhabitants. Then he brought his army up to Larisa. The city was abandoned; the whole population had taken refuge in the citadel; the consul advanced to attack this. First of all the Macedonians, the king's garrison, departed in fear; deserted by these, the townsfolk immediately capitulated. Then as the consul debated whether he should first attack Demetrias or take a look at the situation in Boeotia, the Thebans, harassed by the people of Coronea, called him to Boeotia. In answer to their entreaties, since for winter quarters [3] the district was more suitable than Magnesia, he marched into Boeotia.

[1] Cf. above, n. 1, p. 443. [2] Cf. above, ch. xlii. 1, lvi. 7.
[3] Cf. XXXIII. xxvii. 5.

LIBER XLII PERIOCHA

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS censor templum Iunonis Laciniae tegulis marmoreis spoliavit, ut aedem, quam dedicabat, tegeret. Tegulae ex senatus consulto reportatae. Eumenes Asiae rex in senatu de Perseo Macedoniae rege questus est; cuius iniuriae in populum Romanum referuntur. Ob quas bello ei indicto P. Licinius Crassus consul, cui mandatum erat, in Macedoniam transiit, levibusque expeditionibus, equestribus proeliis, in Thessalia cum Perseo . . .[1] eventu pugnavit. Inter Masinissam et Carthaginienses de agro fuit lis.[2] Dies iis a senatu ad disceptandum datus. Legati missi ad socias civitates regesque rogandos, ut in fide permanerent, dubitantibus Rhodiis. Lustrum a censoribus est: censa sunt civium capita $\overline{\text{CCLXVII}}$[3] CCXXXI. Res praeterea adversus Corsos et Liguras prospere gestas continet.

[1] cum Perseo eventu *codd*: *at recc. supplementa varia praebent, e quibus* improspero *suggerit Rossbach*; *ego* cum Perseo vario eventu *malim*.

[2] fuit lis. dies iis a senatu *Jahn*: fuit dictis a senatu *codd*.

[3] *Et summas minores praebent P, codd. recc., ed. princeps; sed cf. supra ch. x.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XLII

THE censor Quintus Fulvius Flaccus stripped the temple of Juno Lacinia of its marble tiles, in order to roof the temple which he was dedicating. The tiles, by order of the senate, were taken back. Eumenes, king of Asia, complained before the senate of Perseus, king of Macedonia; the wrong-doings of Perseus were laid before the Roman people for action. Because of these wrong-doings war was declared against him, and Publius Licinius Crassus, the consul, who had been placed in command, crossed to Macedonia and in sallies of light troops and cavalry battles fought with Perseus in Thessaly with [varying ?] [1] outcome. There was a dispute over territory between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. A day for arguing the case was set for them by the senate. Envoys were sent to request the allied states and kings to remain loyal, but the Rhodians wavered. The five-year period was closed by the censors; there were enumerated as citizens 267,231 [2] persons. The book also covers successful campaigns against the Corsicans and Ligurians.

[1] The adjective is missing in the MSS.

[2] The numeral is differently reported in different MSS.; cf. also ch. x of this book.

INDEX OF NAMES

(*Figures in Parentheses refer to Footnotes*)

ABRUPOLIS, 329, 409, 415
Aburius, Gaius, 397; Marcus, 227, 231
Acarnanians, 403
Achaea, 259, 327, 437
Achaea, Phthiotic, 257, 505
Achaean, an, 449
Achaean League, 403, 425
Achaeans, 7, 65, 258 (2), 259–61, 307, 401–3, 449, 463, 505
Acidinus, *see* Manlius
Acilius, Lucius, 97–9, 101
Acilius Glabrio, Manius (*A*), 105, 391; (*B—son of A*), 103 (4), 105
Adriatic Sea, 60 (4), 67–9, 70 (1), 173, 185 (6), 439 (2)
Aebura, 95, 99, 101
Aebutius, Marcus, 187
Aebutius Parrus (or Carus), Titus, 179 (1), 201, 231, 303
Aegina, 339, 343, 367
Aegium, 307
Aelius, Gaius, 187, 195; Publius, 225; Quintus, 201; Titus, 187, 195
Aelius Ligur, Publius, 179 (1), 317–21
Aelius Paetus, Publius, 253–5; Quintus, 255
Aelius Tubero, Publius, 207
Aemilian bridge, 158 (2).
Aemilianus, *see* Cornelius Scipio
Aemilius, Marcus, 347
Aemilius Lepidus, Marcus, (*A*) 135, 143, 147, 157, 161, 225, 243 (3), 275–7, 373; (*B— the preceding or his son?*), 303
Aemilius Papus, Lucius, 373
Aemilius Paullus, Lucius, 77–83, 88 (1), 89, 105, 141
Aemilius Regillus, Lucius, 161; Marcus, 161
Aemilius, portico of, 147 (2), 158 (3), 279
Aenea, 9 (2), 11
Aeneans, 9
Aeneas, 11
Aenus, 9 (2)
Aepulo, 185, 219
Aeschylus, *Seven*, 170 (1)
Aesculapius, 115; (*temple—A. = Esmun*), 257, 357
Aetolia, 277, 297, 303, 337, 401–3, 411
Aetolians, 143, 185 (4), 267, 271, 303–7, 327, 363, 391, 417, 449, 463, 478 (1), 479
Africa, 255, 377
Africanus, *see* Cornelius Scipio
Agema, 447, 470 (2), 471
Agrianes, 449
Ahenobarbus, *see* Domitius
Alba, 147
Alban Mt., 141 (5), 233, 279, 351
Albans, 147
Albinus, *see* Postumius
Alce, 151–3
Alcidemos (Athena), 446 (1), 447
Alcis (Athena), 446 (1)
Alexander (*A*) the Great, 66 (1), 447 (5), 450 (1), 451; (*B—son of Perseus*) 451; (*C—of Beroea*), 77
Alexandria, 309, 367
Alope, 465
Alps, 67, 163, 235
Ambracia, 505
Amphictyony, 380 (2)
Amphipolis, 77, 171–3, 415
Ancona, 187
Annales, Villii, 139
Annalis, *see* Villius
Annius Luscus, Titus, 243 (3), 359
Antias, *see* Valerius

INDEX OF NAMES

Antigonea, 471
Antigonus (*A*—the One-eyed), 67; (*B*—Doson), 165, 169; (*C—son of Echecrates*), 165–171, 172 (1), 176 (4), 177, 181; (*D—Macedonian officer*), 173–5
Antilebanon, 375 (4)
Antimachus, 501
Antioch, 249, 287
Antiochus (*A*—the Great), 25, 58 (3), 85, 105, 161, 202 (1), 203, 247 (1), 287, 333, 374 (4), 385, 391, 401–5, 419, 425–7, 445, 470 (2); (*B*—Epiphanes), 247, 287, 288 (1), 308 (2), 309, 367, 375
Antipater, 503
Antiphilus, 449
Antirrhion, Cape, 265 (1)
Antony, 389 (3)
Antronae, 417, 505
Apelles, 65, 165–7, 305
Apennines, 222 (1), 243
Appian, 398 (1), 412 (1), 416 (1); *Macedonian Wars*, 245 (3), 329 (2), 333 (1), 361 (2), 479 (1); *Mithridatic Wars*, 374 (1); *Punic Wars*, 354 (1), 355 (3); *Syrian Wars*, 287 (5).
Apollo, 115, 237, 335; (*temple*), 5, 157, 233; A. Medicus (*temple*), 159
Apollonia (*Epirus*), 343, 399, 443, 463; (*on Euxine*), 177
Apollonius, 309–11
April, 395 (1)
Apuani, 3, 113, 117, 119, 127
Apuleius, Lucius, 303; Quintus, 303
Apulia, 59, 63, 319, 369, 439 (2)
Aquae Cumanae, 233
Aquileia, 81, 103, 181, 185–7, 197–9, 215, 217–9
Aquilius Gallus, Lucius, 227, 231
Arcadia, 249
Archo (Ἀρχώ), 9; (Ἀρχων), 265
Argos, 425
Ariarathes, 63, 345, 374 (2), 375
Ariminum (Rimini), 199
Aristonicus, 486 (1)
Arrian, 176 (2), 447 (6), 448 (2), 450 (1), 470 (2)
Artemon, 471
Arthetaurus, 329, 409, 413
Asclepiodotus, 449
Asellus, *see* Claudius
Asia, 6 (2), 7, 257, 263, 325, 329, 333, 339, 347, 361, 365, 373, 385, 419, 427, 429, 451, 455, 507
Asia Minor, 449 (4), 467 (2)
Asiagenus, *see* Cornelius Scipio
Asti, 347
Astraeum, 77
Atellus, *see* Mamilius
Athamania, 460 (1), 461
Athena (Alcis or Alcidemos), 446 (1)
Athenaeus, 463–5
Athenians, 490 (1)
Athens, 11, 249, 258 (2), 259, 287, 447 (5), 491 (1)
Atilius Serranus, Aulus, 282 (1), 283, 293, 303, 309, 313, 369, 399–403, 419, 425, 429, 433, 437; Marcus, 251 (3), 293
Atius, Lucius, 193
Attalus (*A*), 304 (1); (*B—son of A*), 23, 320 (1), 321, 339, 463, 467, 473, 499, 505
Audena River, 243
August, Kalends, 351; Nones, 233, 237
Augustine, St., 90 (4), 288 (3)
Aurelius, Cotta, Lucius, 85–7
Aurelius, Gaius, 391
Autlesbis, 503
Auximium, 255, 281, 349
Aventine, 5, 158 (5), 159 (6), 279
Azorus, 455, *and see* Tripolis (*Perrhaebic*)

BACCHANALIA, 63
Baebian Law, 139, 179 (1)
Baebiani, Corneliani et, Ligurians, 119 (2)
Baebius, Gnaeus, 57, 63, 79, 81, 141
Baebius Sulca, Quintus, 309
Baebius Tamphilus, Marcus, 57–9, 107, 113, 117–9
Baeculonius, Aulus, 195
Baiae, 232 (2)
Balari, 201, 220 (2), 221
Balkan, Great, 70 (1)
Ballista, Mt., 127, 163, 239–41
Baltimore, 147 (2)
Bari, 60 (4)
Barium, 61
Basilica, Aemilia et Fulvia, 147 (2), 158 (3), 279; Porcia, 158 (3)
Bastarnae, 15, 171–5, 245–7, 263, 323
Begorritis, 457
Belgrade, 173 (2)
Bellona (*temple*), 201, 315, 351, 371, 397
Berea, 447 (4)

INDEX OF NAMES

Beroea, 77, 447, 471
Bessarabia, 172 (2)
Bithynia, 373
Boarium, Forum, 159 (6), 279 (9)
Boeotarchae, 421–3
Boeotia, 325 (4), 401, 417 (2), 421–3, 431, 437, 463–5, 489–91, 505
Boeotian, a, 487 (1)
Boeotian League, 423–5, 433
Boeotians, 325, 403, 411, 417, 421, 433, 449, 465
Brundisium, 59, 131, 341, 343, 367–9, 383, 395, 399, 411–3, 443
Bruttium, 299
Brutus, *see* Junius
Bulgaria, 172 (2)
Buteo, *see* Fabius
Byzantines, 329, 411, 417
Byzantium, 429

CAECILIUS, Marcus, 303, 369
Caecilius Denter, Lucius, 3; Marcus, 309
Caecilius Metellus, Quintus, 143
Caepio, *see* Servilius
Caere, 255
Caesar, *see* Julius
Caieta, 5
Calabria, 369, 439
Calatia, 281, 349
Callicrates, 261, 265, 69
Callicritus, 329, 411
Calligenes, 171
Callinicus, 471
Calpurnius Piso, Gaius, 89, 107, 115, 117
Cambunian (*mountains*), 455
Campania, 223, 255, 293, 313, 345, 349
Campi Macri, 239, 241
Campus Martius, 143, 161
Caninius Rebilus, Gaius, 371, 383
Canuleius Dives, Lucius, 273, 371, 383
Cape, *see* Antirrhion, Malea, Minerva, Rhion
Capito, *see* Fonteius
Capitol, *see* Capitoline
Capitoline, 5, 141, 147, 157, 217, 219, 277–9, 347–9, 371, 433, 441
Capitolinus, Clivus, 279
Cappadocia, 63, 375
Capua, 143, 213, 345
Carpetania, 95, 101
Carthage, 255–7, 280 (2)
Carthage, New, 131
Carthaginians, 55–7, 85, 107, 257, 289, 354 (1), 355–9, 377, 397, 445, 507
Carvilius, Spurius, 397–9
Carystus, 311
Cassignatus, 467–9
Cassius, Dio, *see* Dio Cassius
Cassius, Hemina, 90 (4)
Cassius Longinus, Gaius, 199, 251 (3), 303, 371–3, 385
Catmelus, 187
Cato, *see* Porcius
Cavalry Companions, 470 (2)
Cavalry, Elite (*extraordinarii*), 473, 475 (1)
Celtiberia, 103, 107, 121, 127, 149, 153
Celtiberians, 3, 55, 93–103, 109–11, 115, 123–5, 141, 149, 151, 155, 181, 203, 273–5, 283, 287–9, 319
Cenchreae, 269
Cento, *see* Claudius
Cephallania, 401, 439, 463
Cepnati, 347
Cerco, *see* Lutatius
Ceres (*temple*), 5, 281
Certima, 149
Cethegus, 58 (1), *and see* Cornelius
Chaereas, 167
Chaeronia, 421
Chalcedon, 465
Chalcis, 343, 421–5, 463, 465
Charops, 402 (1)
Chaunus (*mountains*), 155
Chios, 161
Cicereius, Gaius, 283, 293, 311, 351, 365
Cicero, *de Oratore*, 36 (1), *de Republica and Second Verrine*, 288 (3), *Philippics*, 389 (3)
Circus, 279; Flaminius, 140 (1), 161; Maximus, 4 (2), 5
Cirrha, 335
Citium, 447–9
Claudii, 56 (2)
Claudius, Quadrigarius, 320 (2), 435 (2)
Claudius Asellus, Lucius, 251 (3), 253
Claudius Cento, Appius, 179, 243 (3), 275, 281–3, 307, 359
Claudius Marcellus, Marcus (*A*), 213, 225; (*B*), 5, 52 (1), 53, 79, 81, 306 (1)?, 307? (*perhaps a namesake*); (*C*—M.F., *i.e.*, *son of A*), 225, 387
Claudius Nero, Tiberius (*A*), 59; (*B*), 179, 197–9, 221–3, 227–9, 347, 427
Claudius Pulcher, Appius, 273; Gaius 117, 133, 207, 213–27, 235–9, 319, 443; Publius, 89

INDEX OF NAMES

Cleomenes, 165
Cleopatra, 375 (4)
Clitomachus, 486 (1)
Clivus Capitolinus, 279; Publicius, 279 (9)
Cloelius Siculus, Publius, 135
Clondicus, 177
Cluvius, Spurius, 317, 321
Cluvius Saxula, Gaius, 243 (3), 282 (1), 283, 293
Coele Syria, 375
Colline Gate (Porta Collina), 103, 213
Comitium, 181, 279 (6)
Concord, *precinct*, 61, *temple*, 279 (6)
Contrebia, 101, 103
Copais (*lake*), 489 (2)
Corcyra (*island*), 132 (1), 399, 401, 409, 439; (*Illyrian city*), 132 (1), 133
Corinth, 307 339
Corinthian Gulf, 265 (1), 463, 469 (1)
Corneliani et Baebiani Ligures, 119 (2)
Cornelius, Gnaeus, 283
Cornelius Cethegus, Publius, 303, *and see* Cornelius Lentulus (Cethegus), Publius
Cornelius Dolabella, Gnaeus, 133; Lucius, 133, 135, 187
Cornelius Lentulus, Lucius, 319; (*A*), Publius (Cethegus?), 59, 113, 117–9; (*B*), Publius, 399, 437, 463; (*C same as B?*), 443; Servius, 399, 425
Cornelius Mammula, Marcus, 309; Publius, 107–9
Cornelius Scipio, Gnaeus *or* Lucius, 207, 251, 276 (2), 277; Publius, 135
Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, Publius, 158 (2), 159
Cornelius Scipio Africanus, Publius, 25, 251 (3), 276 (2), 355 (3), 357
Cornelius Scipio (Asiagenus), Lucius, 25, 202 (1), 203, 207
Cornelius Scipio Hispallus, Gnaeus, 139, 227–9, 233
Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis, Marcus, 227, 231, 275, 276 (1)
Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Publius, 103
Cornelius Sulla, Servius, 243 (3), 251
Coronea, 424 (1), 425, 430 (4), 431, 489, 505
Corragus, 503
Corsica, 105, 251, 293, 311, 351
Corsicans, 63, 105, 311, 507
Cotta, *see* Aurelius
Cotto, 173–5
Cotys, 377, 449, 467, 471, 503
Crannon, 493–5
Crassipes, *see* Furius
Crassus, *see* Licinius
Cremaste, *see* Larisa Cremaste
Cretan, a, 335, 475
Cretans, 273, 395, 449, 467, 471, 495
Crete, 347, 395, 397
Creusa, 465
Croesus, 452 (1)
Crustumerium, 211, 223
Crustumina, 389
Culleo, *see* Terentius
Cumae, 233
Cumaeans, 135
Cumanae, Aquae, 233
Curia, 279
Curio, *see* Scribonius
Curvus, *see* Titinius
Cyretiae, 457
Cyrtians, 473
Cyrus, I, 452 (1)
Cyzicus, 249

DALMATIANS, 131 (3)
Damascus, 375 (4)
Danube, 246 (1), *and see* Hister
Dardania, 173–7, 245, 263
Dardanians, 173–5, 245–7
Dassareti, 399
Decimius, Gaius, 397; Lucius, 399, 401, 429; Marcus, 347
Delium, 325
Delos, 249, 325 (4)
Delphi, 177, 257, 258 (1), 263–5, 273, 307, 327, 335, 341, 373, 411, 417, 477
Delphic Amphictyony, 380 (2)
Demetrias, 77, 163, 171, 505
Demetrius (*A—son of Philip*), 13–21, 27–9, 32 (1), 33–5, 38 (1), 41 (1), 44 (1), 47, 50 (1), 53, 64 (2), 65–77, 165–9, 181, 262 (1), 263, 267, 323, 449; (*B—son of Seleucus*), 287
Denter, *see* Caecilius
Dentheleti, 71
Diana, 161
Dicetas, 425 (2)
Didas, 69, 73, 77, 449, 471
Digitius, Sextus, 257, 369
Dio Cassius, 288 (3)
Diodorus Siculus, 106 (1 and 2), 164 (1), 320 (1), 331 (2), 433 (1), 435 (3), 457 (2)
Dionysius, 286 (2)
Dittenberger, 380 (2)

INDEX OF NAMES

Dium, 405–7
Dives, *see* Canuleius
Dolabella, *see* Cornelius
Doliche, 457, *and see* Tripolis (*Perrhaebic*)
Dolopia, 263, 329
Dolopian, a, 471
Dolopians, 256 (2), 257, 267, 411, 417
Domitius Ahenobarbus, Gnaeus, 373
Donuca, (*mountain*), 175
Doris, 329
Doson, *see* Antigonus
Duilius, 347 (2)
Duronius, Lucius, 58 (2), 59, 63, 131, 133
Dyrrhacians, 439
Dyrrhachium, 439

ECHECRATES, 165
Edessa, 449
Egypt, 375
Egyptian, a, 487 (1)
Elatia (*Boeotia*), 269; (*Thessaly*), 459
Eleans, 401 (2)
Elimea, 457
Elis, 401
Elite Cavalry (*extraordinarii*), 473, 475 (1)
Elymiotae, 447 (7)
Emathia, 7
Eordaea, 457
Ephesus, 161
Epiphanes, *see* Antiochus and Ptolemy
Epirotes, 267, 403
Epirus, 343, 399–403, 461
Equestris, *see* Fortuna
Ergavica, 155
Erycina, *see* Venus
Esmun, 357 (1)
Esquiline Gate, 213
Etruscans, 225
Euboea, 11, 401
Eulaeus, 374 (3)
Eulyestans, 447
Eumenes, 7, 23, 63, 257, 304 (1), 305, 309, 321–7, 331–3, 334 (1), 338 (2), 339–43, 361, 367, 373–5, 409 (2), 411–3, 419, 429, 437, 453, 463, 467–9, 473–7, 499, 502 (1), 503–7
Euphranor, 417
Eupolemus, 271
Euripides, *Alcestis*, 202 (2)
Europe, 373, 455
Euxine Sea, 67, 172 (2), 176 (3), 465
Evander, 335, 475, 477
Eversa, 329, 411

FABIUS BUTEO, Numerius, 283, 293, 301; Quintus, 58 (2), 59, 80 (2), 81, 115, 137
Fabius Labeo, Quintus, 3, 5, 133
Fabius Maximus, Quintus, 59, 80 (2), 81–3, 89, 105
Falcidian Law, 289 (3)
Falerii, 435 (2)
Faliscans, 435
Fasti, 58 (1), 136 (1), 243 (3); Capitolini, 317 (2)
Faveria, 221
February, 371, Ides, 369
Festus, 103 (4), 222 (2), 283 (2), 286 (4)
Fiume, 173 (2)
Flaccus, *see* Fulvius *and* Valerius
Flamininus, *see* Quinctius
Flaminius, Gaius, 103
Florus, 184 (1), 185 (4)
Fonteius Capito, Titus, 179, 231
Foot-Guard, 471 (2), *and see* Agema
Formiae, 5
Fortuna Equestris (*temple*), 125, 141, 295, 299, 319
Forum (Romanum), 145, 158 (3), 255, 279 (5), 347; Boarium, 159 (6), 279 (9); Olitorium, 103, 159 (6); Pistorum, 158 (5)
Foster, 368 (1)
Frank, Tenney, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, 147 (2), 281 (4)
Fregellae, 208 (1 and 2), 209
Friniates, 243
Frontinus, 129 (2), 242 (2)
Fulvius, Gnaeus *or* Lucius (= Marcus F. Flaccus?), 129 (2), 277; Quintus, M. F., 133; Servius, 347
Fulvius Flaccus, Marcus, 95, 133 (3); Quintus (*A*), 84 (1), 85, 116 (1), 117, 127–9, 277 (3); (*B—cousin of A*), 3, 53–5, 84 (1), 93, 97, 101–3, 107–15, 121–9, 135–9, 143, 163, 177, 275, 281, 298 (1), 299, 317–9, 353, 373, 393, 507
Fulvius Nobilior, Marcus (*A*), 136 (1), 141, 143, 147, 157, 159 (6), 160 (2); (*B—son of A*), 387; (*C* = Marcus Fulvius Flaccus?), 128 (1 and 2), 129–31, 277 (3)
Fundi, 280 (1), 281
Furius, Gaius, 185–7

INDEX OF NAMES

Furius Crassipes, Marcus 282 (1), 283, 293
Furius Philus, Lucius, 371, 383; Publius, 251, 303

GABII, 233
Gaius, 289 (3)
Gala, 55
Galatia, 204 (2)
Galatians, 467 (2), *and see* Gauls, *Galatians*
Galba, *see* Sulpicius
Gallic Gulf, 83
Gallic people (*Scordisci*), 174 (1)
Gallipoli, 502 (1)
Gallus, *see* Aquillius, Lucretius, Memmius, Ogulnius, Sulpicius
Games, *see* Ludi
Garuli, 243
Gates, *see* Colline, Esquiline, Trigemina
Gaul, 297; (*cisalpine*), 5, 53, 59, 79, 81, 115, 185 (3), 199, 200 (1), 205–7, 227, 237–9, 245, 276 (2), 303
Gauls (*cisalpine*), 85, 102 (1), 103, 187, 193, 197–9; (*Galatians*), 263, 267–9; (*invaders of Greece*), 175; (*Pannonian = Serbian*), 176 (2), 449, 453; (*transalpine*), 57, 163
Gavillius Novellus, Gnaeus *and* Lucius, 197
Gellius, 61 (6), 289 (4), 435 (2)
Gentius, 131–3, 364 (1), 365, 377, 400 (1), 401, 439
Germanic people (Bastarnae), 174 (1)
Germans, 435 (1)
Giarratano, 209 (6)
Gitana, 403
Glabrio, *see* Acilius
Glorious Victory, 470 (1)
Gomphi, 461
Gonnus, 459, 483, 503
Gorgon, 287 (5)
Governors of Boeotia, 421–3
Gracchuris, 286 (4), 287
Gracchus, *see* Sempronius *and* Veturius
Gravisca, 89, 233
Greece, 7, 175, 257–9, 263, 267, 284 (1), 289, 303–5, 325, 329–33, 339, 397–401, 417–9, 425, 430 (1), 433, 437, 445, 449, 451, 455, 463, 473, 479, 487
Greeks, 165, 258 (1), 305 (2), 434 (1), 452 (1), 475, 479 (1), 487 (1)
Guard (*agema*), 447, 470 (2), 471
Gulussa, 355–9
Gyrton, 459

HADRIAN, 248 (1), 287 (5)
Haemus (*mountain*), 67–9
Haliacmon River, 457
Haliartus, 425, 431, 463–5, 489, 490 (1)
Hanging Larisa, 465 (3), *and see* Larisa Cremaste
Hannibal, 85, 301, 445
Harpalus, 331, 335
Hasdrubal, 55
Hegesilochus, 427
Heliodorus, 287 (5)
Hemina, Cassius, 90 (4)
Heraclea (*Euxine*), 465; (*Paeonia*), 77; (Sintica), 449
Hercules (*oath*), 33, 205, 327, 455; (*temple*), 159
Hergates, 243
Herodicus, 9
Herodorus, 75, 452 (1)
Hiero, 234 (1)
Hippias (*Macedonian*), 409, 447, 475; (*Thessalian*), 459
Hispallus, *see* Cornelius Scipio
Hister, 67, 172 (2), 173, *and see* Danube
Histria, 58 (2), 81, 187, 199, 200 (1), 205–7, 211–3, 215 (3), 219–27
Histrians, 59, 81, 102 (1), 184 (1), 185–7, 191–9, 205, 215, 219, 227, 289
Hollow Syria, 375
Homolium, 405
Horse-Guard, 470 (2)
Hostilia, Quarta, 116 (2), 117
Hostilius Mancinus, Aulus, 107, 109
Hygieia, 115 (3)
Hypata, 271

IDES (Feb.), 369, (Mar.), 107, 177, 199, 207, 353, (Aug.), 233, (Nov.), 353
Ilienses, 63, 107, 201, 220 (2), 221
Illyrian, an, 329
Illyrians, 131, 185, 365, 377, 399, 401, 411, 429
Illyricum, 58 (2), 72 (1), 131, 373
Ilurcis, 286 (4)
India, 455
Indian Ocean, 455
Ingauni, 77, 87, 105, 129
Intemelii, 129
Ion, 471
Ionian Sea, 439

Iphicrates, 447 (5)
Ismenias, 405, 423, 425 (2)
Issaeans, 365, 439
Isthmus, *of Corinth*, 338 (1), 339
Istra, *see* Terentius
Italian (cavalry), 471–3
Italy, 57, 63, 69, 105, 113–5, 129 (2), 141, 163, 173, 197, 206 (2), 208 (1), 295 (3), 311, 323, 331, 369 (1), 375, 381–5, 389–91, 398 (1), 399, 413, 439, 445
Iunius, *see* Junius
Iuventius, Titus, 369

JANICULUM, 89, 181
Jan-Mayhoff, 90 (4)
Janus, 281
Jones, 399 (3)
Jugoslavia, 449 (4)
Julius Caesar, Sextus, 85
June (Nones), 255, (Kalends), 395
Junius Brutus, Marcus, 179, 197–9, 205, 215–9, 427 (?)
Junius Pennus, Marcus, 317, 321, 345
Juno, 301; Lacinia, 373; Lacinia (*temple*), 299, 507; Moneta (*temple*), 311; Queen, 161; Sospita, 61
Jupiter, 71, 179, 227, 283; (*temple*), 141, 157, 280 (1), 281; Capitolinus, 249; Capitolinus (*temple*), 163, 287; Greatest and Best, *i.e.*, Optimus Maximus, 125, 141, 349, 371; Olympius (*temple*), 249, 287
Justinus, 176 (1), 453 (3)

KALENDS (June), 395; (August), 351; (November), 213
Knossus, 449
Kurd country, 473 (3)

LABEO, *see* Fabius
Lacedaemon, 64 (1)
Lacedaemonian, a, 165, 449
Lacedaemonians, 7, 23, 65
Laelius, Gaius, 257
Laenas, *see* Popillius
Laevinus, *see* Valerius
Lake Copais, 489 (2)
Lanuvium, 61, 233, 255, 297
Lapicini, 243
Lares of the sea, 161–3
Larisa, 405–7, 423, 437, 457, 461, 483, 505; Larisa Cremaste, 417, 465, 505
Latin allies, *or* confederacy, 5, 59, 63, 83, 89, 101, 112 (2), 113–5, 122 (2), 127, 133, 137–41, 211–3, 225–9, 233, 251, 293, 303, 319, 367–9, 395
Latin festival, 141, 233–5, 321, 395
Latin League, 208 (3)
Latins, 147
Latium, 206 (2), 208 (1), 369 (1)
Law, Baebian, 179 (1); Falcidian, 289 (3); Voconian, 285 (2), 289 (3)
Lebanon, 375 (4)
Leipzig, 58 (2)
Lenaeus, 374 (3)
Lentuli, 401
Lentulus, *see* Cornelius
Leonides, 449
Leonnatus, 447, 475
Lepidus, *see* Aemilius
Letum (*mountain*), 127, 239–41
Liber and Libera (*temple, with Ceres*), 281
Libitina, 61, 253
Licinius Crassus, Gaius, 317, 321, 351, 353, 367–9, 471; Marcus, 159; Publius, 227, 231, 371–3, 385, 389, 393–9, 439–41, 507
Licinius Nerva, Aulus, 199, 205, 397
Licinius Strabo, Marcus, 191
Licinus, *see* Porcius
Ligur, *see* Aelius
Liguria, 102 (3), 198 (2), 228 (1), 239, 303, 369
Ligurians, 3, 5, 52 (1), 53, 57–9, 79–87, 105, 109, 115, 119, 127–9, 161–3, 177, 181, 199, 221–9, 235–7, 241, 242 (2), 245, 289, 293, 311–21, 349–55, 365, 371, 395, 507, *and see* Apuani, Ingauni, Intemelii, Statellates
Ligustinus, Spurius, 388 (1), 389, 390 (3), 391 (4)
Livy, 9 (1), 11 (1), 12 (1), 18 (2), 32 (3), 50 (1), 58 (2), 68 (1), 90 (3 and 4), 92 (2), 103 (4), 116 (2), 128 (1), 129 (2), 133 (5), 138 (1), 139 (2), 141 (4), 146 (2), 156 (1), 157 (4), 159 (9), 162 (2), 164 (3), 170 (1 and 2), 174 (1), 179 (1), 194 (1), 195 (2), 198 (2), 242 (2), 244 (2), 245 (3), 256 (1), 258 (2), 260 (1), 271 (1), 272 (2), 276 (1 and 2), 277 (4), 286 (3), 288 (1), 295 (3), 304 (2), 306 (1), 308 (1), 320 (2), 324 (3), 328 (1), 338 (2), 350 (3), 360 (2), 378 (1), 381 (2 and 3), 396 (1), 398 (1), 402 (1), 403 (3), 411 (3), 424

(1), 431 (4), 432 (1), 435 (1 and 2), 439 (3), 450 (1), 455 (1), 475 (1), 502 (2)
Locri, 439
Longinus, *see* Cassius
Longus, *see* Sempronius
Lucretius, Marcus, 345, 439, 463–5; Spurius, 317, 321, 345
Lucretius Gallus, Gaius, 83, 371, 385, 395, 439, 463, 489–91
Ludi Romani, 179
Luna (*temple*), 5; (*city*), 225, 243
Luscus, *see* Annius *and* Postumius
Lusitania, 149
Lusitanians, 103, 303, 387
Lutatius Cerco, Gaius, 309
Lycians, 201–3, 273, 333
Lyciscus, 403, 478 (1)
Lycon, 449
Lydians, 202 (2), 452 (1), 453
Lyncestae, 447 (7)
Lysimachus, 21

MACEDONIA, 7, 9, 17, 27, 31, 39, 43, 67–9, 70 (1), 73–7, 171–3, 177, 181, 242 (2), 245, 257–9, 267–9, 297, 299 (1), 303, 309, 321, 327–9, 335, 343, 346 (1), 347, 359, 365–9, 373–7, 381–5, 391, 397, 401, 403 (2), 411, 415, 419, 425 (2), 429–31, 439–41, 445–51, 455, 460 (1), 461, 485–7, 503, 507
Macedonian, a, 365, 403
Macedonians, 13, 17, 31–5, 39–43, 49, 65, 71, 85, 169, 259–69, 307, 377, 391, 397–9, 403, 433, 447, 448 (2), 453, 457–61, 467, 491, 501, 505; (*individuals*), 335, 339, 505
Macra River, 127
Madvig, 214 (2), 325 (4)
Maedi, 347
Maedica, 67–9, 73
Maenius, Gaius, 107–9, 117, 137; Titus, 107
Magnesia, 461, 503–5
Malea, Cape, 463
Malis, 411
Malloea, 457 (2), 505
Maluginensis, *see* Cornelius Scipio
Mamilius Atellus, Gaius, 253
Mammula, *see* Cornelius
Mancinus, *see* Hostilius
Manlian Pass, 121
Manlius, Publius, 3, 53–5, 103, 131–3
Manlius Acidinus, L. F., 443; M. F., 443; Lucius, 103, 136 (1), 137–9, 163, 353, 443
Manlius Volso, Aulus, 179, 185 (3 and 4), 199, 200 (1), 204 (2), 205–7, 215–9
Marcellus, *see* Claudius
March, Ides, 107, 177, 199, 207, 353
Marcii, 407 (1)
Marcius Philippus, Quintus, 7, 113, 135, 255, 399–409, 410 (1), 419–21, 425, 429, 433, 437, 465
Marcius Scilla, Quintus, 351
Marcius Sermo, Marcus, 351
Marene, 503
Mars, 333; (*altar*), 143; (*grove*), 311
Marseilles, *see* Massilia
Masinissa, 55–7, 107, 255, 354 (1), 355–9, 375, 397, 444 (1), 453, 507
Maso, *see* Papirius
Massilia, 61, 301–3
Massilians, 59
Massiliota, *see* Terentius
Mater Matuta (*temple*), 283
Matienus, Gaius, 83, 87, 283, 293 (?); Marcus (= Gaius?), 293
May (Nones), 233
Megalopolis, 249, 271
Mela, 70 (1)
Memmius (Gallus?), Gaius, 243 (3), 273, 317, 321, 367
Menon, 471
Mesembria, 177
Messalla, *see* Valerius
Messene, 65, 401
Messina, 439 (4)
Metellus, *see* Caecilius
Middle Ages, 447 (4)
Midon, 471
Minerva, Defender of the Folk, 447
Minerva, Cape of, 61, 349
Minucius, Quintus, 273
Minucius Molliculus, Tiberius, 107–9, 115–7
Minucius Rufus, Titus, 459
Minucius Thermus, Lucius, 107–9 (?), 207
Misagenes, 375, 483, 499, 505
Modena, 222 (1), 239 (3) *and see* Mutina
Molliculus, *see* Minucius
Moon (*temple*), 5
Mopselus, 483, 495, 503
Morava River, 172 (2)
Mountains, *see* Alban, Alps, Antilebanon, Apennines, Ballista Cambunian, Chaunus, Donuca, Haemus,

INDEX OF NAMES

Lebanon, Letum, Oeta, Ossa, Parnassus, Taurus
Mountainside, 449
Mucius Scaevola, Publius, 139, 243; Quintus (*A—father of* Publius *and* Quintus *B, q.v.*); (*B*), 139, 251 (3), 443, 473, 505
Müller, H. J., 333 (1); K. O., 286 (4)
Mummius, Lucius, 158 (2), 159, 207, 212 (2), 213–5
Munatius, Gaius, 303
Munda, 149
Mutila, 221
Mutina, 227, 235, 239 *and see* Modena
Mylae, 457
Mysians, 467

NAPLES, 60 (2), 127, 439
Nasica, *see* Cornelius Scipio
Neapolis, *see* Naples
Neon, 425 (2)
Nero, *see* Claudius
Nerva, *see* Licinius
Nesattium, 219
New Carthage, 131
Nobilior, *see* Fulvius
Nones (May), 233; (June), 255; (August), 233, 237
Novellus, *see* Gavillius
November, (Kalends) 213; (Ides), 353
Numa Pompilius, 89–91, 181
Numidia, 359
Numidian, a, 357, 483
Numidians, 355, 395, 453, 499, 505
Numisius, Gaius, 207
Nymphs, Place of the, 399, 443, 455

OBSEQUENS, 140 (1)
Odrysae, 377, 449
Oedipus, 170 (1)
Oeta (*mountain*), 257, 263
Ogulnius Gallus, Marcus, 3, 53
Olympia, 487 (1)
Olympic Games, 486 (1)
Olympichus, 424 (1)
Olympius, *see* Jupiter, Zeus
Onomastus, 21
Orestans, 403
Orosius, 243 (3), 246 (1)
Orthobula, 273
Osca, 137
Ossa (*mountain*), 461

PAELIGNIANS, 206 (2), 209
Paeonia, 7, 67–9, 72 (1), 73–7, 449 (3), 471
Paeonian, a, 449
Paeonians, 449
Paetus, *see* Aelius
Pales, 4 (1)
Pannonia, 449 (4)
Pantaleon, 337
Pantauchus, 409
Papirius Maso, Lucius, 227–9
Papirius Turdus, Gaius, 199, 205
Papus, *see* Aemilius
Parilia, 5
Parma, 237
Parnassus (*mountain*), 337–9
Paroria, 449
Parrus, *see* Aebutius
Patavium, 277
Paton, 354 (1), 423 (3), 434 (1), 485 (3), 489 (a)
Patrocles, 471
Paullus, *see* Aemilius
Pausanias, 248 (1), 287 (5), 491 (1)
Peisistratus, 248 (1), 287 (5)
Pella, 415, 447, 503
Pelopidas, 471 (2)
Peloponnesian War, 447 (5)
Peloponnesus, 265, 307, 401, 425
Peneus River, 405, 463, 477, 481–3
Pennus, *see* Junius
Pergamum, 287 (5), 304 (1), 343, 419, 463
Perrhaebia, 305–7, 331, 396 (1), 397, 457, 505
Perseus, 12 (1), 13–21, 25, 26 (1), 33 (3), 35–47, 53, 65, 69, 73–7, 165, 169–71, 177, 181, 245, 256 (2), 257–71, 289, 297, 303–9, 321–35, 339–47, 360 (2), 361–7, 375–7, 381, 389, 396 (1), 397, 401, 405–7, 410 (1), 412 (1), 416 (1), 417 (2), 421–3, 427–9, 435 (3), 437, 441–51, 453 (3), 457–9, 460 (1), 465–71, 475, 483 (1), 485–7, 490 (1), 493–9, 503, 507
Persia, 473 (2)
Persian Gulf, 455 (1)
Peter, 90 (4)
Petilius, Lucius, 89–93, 181
Petilius Spurinus, Quintus, 59, 81, 89–93, 227–9, 233, 237–41, 242 (2)
Petra, 73–5
Phalanna, 459, 495
Phalasarnae, 449
Pharnaces, 6 (2), 7, 63
Pherae, 465
Pheraeans, 467
Phila, 503

Philadelphus, *see* Ptolemy
Philetaerus, 463
Philip (*A—the Fifth*), 7–15, 21, 22 (1), 33, 51–3, 64 (2), 65, 66 (1), 69–73, 74 (2), 77, 85, 163–75, 176 (4), 181, 244 (1), 256, 257 (2), 261–9, 289, 305, 323–5, 361, 381, 391, 401–5, 425–7, 441, 451, 483–5; (*B—son of A*), 451
Philip, *i.e.*, Philippus, 407
Philippus, *see* Marcius
Philocles, 65, 165–7
Philometor, *see* Ptolemy
Philus, *see* Furius
Phoenicians, 435 (3)
Phrygians, 202 (2), 453
Phthiotic Achaea, 257, 505
Phthiotis, 465
Pietas, 103
Pinarius, Lucius, 63
Pinarius Rusca, Marcus, 59, 79, 105, 107
Pisa, 3, 57, 63, 79, 81, 127, 128 (1), 129, 131, 135, 197–9, 221, 227–9 237, 243, 315
Pisaurum, 281
Pisistratus, *see* Peisistratus
Piso, 90 (4) *and see* Calpurnius
Place of the Nymphs, *see* Nymphs, Place of the
Placentia, 131, 187–9
Plaetorius, Gaius, 365
Pliny (*elder*), 70 (2), 90 (4), 103 (4), 119 (2), 222 (2), 224 (2), 286 (4)
Pliny (*younger*), *Panegyric*, 289 (3)
Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus*, 451 (3), 477 (2); *Coriolanus*, 165 (3); *Numa*, 90 (4); *Pelopidas*, 471 (2); *Pompey*, 147 (2); *Roman Questions*, 389 (3); *Sayings of the Romans*, 477 (2)
Po, 353
Pola, 219 (1)
Polybius, 6 (4), 8 (1), 11 (1), 12 (1), 22 (1), 32 (3), 50 (1), 70 (1), 131 (3), 152 (1), 200 (5), 202 (2), 247 (2), 256 (1), 258 (2), 288 (1), 320 (1), 328 (1), 339 (1), 354 (1), 355 (2), 360 (2), 373 (3), 374 (3), 377 (3), 379 (1), 381 (3), 387 (2), 391 (3), 398 (1 and 2), 402 (1), 403 (3), 411 (3), 421 (1), 423 (2 and 3), 424 (1), 425 (2 and 3), 426 (1), 427 (2), 429 (2), 430 (1–4), 434 (1), 437 (2), 439 (3), 440 (1), 447 (6), 464 (2), 472 (1), 473 (2), 478 (1), 480 (1), 483 (1), 484 (3), 486 (1), 497 (1), 502 (2), 503 (2)
Pompeius, Lucius, 495
Pompey, theatre of, 157 (4)
Pompilius, *see* Numa
Pompo, 89
Pomptine region, 297
Pontus (*kingdom*), 6 (1), 63; P. Euxinus, 67, 172 (2), 176 (3), 465
Popilii, 353
Popilius Laenas, Gaius, 243 (3), 317–21, 353, 369–71; Marcus, 137, 227, 230 (1), 231, 273, 283, 293, 311, 314 (1), 315–317, 318 (4), 321, 349, 353, 387; Publius, 137
Popilius Sabellus, Gaius, 195
Porcius Licinus, Lucius (*A*), 102 (3), 103; (*B—son of A*), 103, 369
Porcius Cato, Marcus, 280 (2), 289, 391
Poris, 9, 11
Porta, *see* Colline, Esquiline, Trigemina
Poseidonius, 152 (1), 399 (3)
Postumius Albinus, Lucius, 107–9, 121, 139, 149, 156 (1), 157, 201–5, 283, 286 (2), 287, 293–5, 313, 317–9, 345, 397; Spurius (*A*), 113, 135; (*B*—Paullulus), 251 (3), 427
Postumius Albinus Luscus, Aulus, 107, 117, 127–31, 275, 281, 317–9, 397
Potentia, 280 (1), 281
Praeneste, 61 (6), 295
Praenestines, 297
Praxo, 335, 341
Priscian, 243 (3)
Privernum, 297
Proxenus, 271–3
Prusias, 284 (1), 325, 373
Pteleon (Pteleum), 417, 505
Ptolemy (*A*—Epiphanes), 308 (1); (*B*—Philadelphus), 375 (4); (*C*—Philometor), 303 (1), 309, 367, 374 (3), 375, 486 (1)
Publicius, Clivus, 279 (9)
Pulcher, *see* Claudius
Pupius, Lucius, 63
Puteoli, 213
Pyrrhus, 301, 435
Pythagoras, 91
Pythoüs, 457, *and see* Tripolis (*Perrhaebic*)

QUADRIGARIUS, Claudius, 320 (3)
Quarta Hostilia, 117
Queen Juno, 161
Quinctius Flamininus, Gaius, 207; Lucius, 25; Titus (*A*), 25, 32 (3),

33, 41, 65, 74 (2), 75–7, 167, 213, 285, 391, 483; (*B—son of A*), 285
Quirites, 233, *and see* Romans *i.e., Roman People*)

RAMMIUS, Lucius, 341, 412 (1), 413
Reate, 5, 142 (2), 143
Rebilus, *see* Caninius
Red Sea, 455 (1)
Regillus, *see* Aemilius
Regina (Juno), 161
Remens, 297
Rex (Marcii), 407 (1)
Rhegium, 439
Rhion, Cape, 265 (1)
Rhodes, 201 (5), 202 (1), 347, 367, 429, 431, 465
Rhodians, 6 (2), 7, 203, 249, 273, 333–5, 427–31, 440 (1), 507
Rimini, 199
River, *see* Audena, Danube (Hister), Haliacmon, Macra, Morava, Peneus, Po, Save, Scultenna, Strymon, Tiber
Rolfe, 289 (4)
Roman, a, 95, 311, 393 (4), 455 (1)
Romans (*A—i.e., the Roman People*), 6 (4), 13–17, 31–35, 39–41, 49, 52 (1), 53, 58 (3), 65, 73, 77, 87, 89, 91 (6), 105–7, 119, 123, 143, 145, 153, 163, 175, 181, 203–5, 209, 233–5, 245, 257, 258 (1), 261–73, 283, 287, 301, 305–15, 323–7, 334 (1), 335, 345–7, 355–67, 371, 375–81, 385, 401–9, 415, 416 (1), 421–33, 434 (1), 435 (1 and 3), 439, 443–5, 451–5, 460 (1), 461–3, 479–87, 490 (1), 507; (*B—army*), 5, 59, 79, 81, 95, 99, 101, 113, 155, 187–91, 195–7, 205, 225 (3), 231, 241, 251, 275, 293, 455, 465–9, 483, 493–9, 503; (*C—civilians*), 57, 60 (1), 61, 131–3, 200 (5), 209–11, 225, 319, 341, 367, 383, 403, 417, 421–3, 429
Roman Gate, 143
Rome (city), 4 (1), 17, 33, 37, 49, 57, 61, 75, 81, 87, 107, 113–7, 122 (1), 123, 127, 131–3, 137, 147, 157 (4), 163–5, 177, 197–201, 205–7, 208 (1), 211–19, 223–7, 233–5, 245, 247 (1), 251, 271, 277, 278 (1), 283, 287, 295, 299, 303, 309, 315–23, 333, 339, 343–5, 349, 353–9, 363–73, 388 (1), 389 (3), 399, 409–13, 419–21, 425, 429, 433, 439, 443, 451, 479; (state), 67, 170 (2), 208 (3), 256, 257 2), 295 (2), 323, 360 (1), 361 (2), 365, 377, 396 (1), 402 (1), 411, 425–9, 433, 435 (1), 441, 491
Romulus, 145
Rufus, *see* Minucius
Rusca, *see* Pinarius

SABELLUS, *see* Popilius
Sabines, 147
Sabine territory, 281
Sacred Band, 471 (2)
Sage, 368 (1), 471 (2), 473 (5)
Sallentini, 439 (2)
Salonius, Gaius, 303
Saltus Manliana, 121
Salus, 115, 229
Samnites, 119, 206 (2), 209
Samnium, 127
Samos, 161, 465
Samothrace, 361, 444 (2), 445
Sangus, 223 (2)
Sardi, 220 (2)
Sardinia, 3, 59, 63, 79, 107–9, 117, 137–9, 200 (4), 201, 207, 211–3, 221, 231, 234 (1), 235, 251, 283, 293, 311, 321, 371
Sardinians, 201, 207, 235, 289, 383
Saturn (*temple*), 255, 279
Saturnia, 349
Save River, 172 (2)
Saxa, *see* Voconius
Saxula, *see* Cluvius
Scaea (Tripolis), 463
Scaevola, *see* Mucius
Scholia Bobiensia, 63 (2)
Scilla, *see* Marcius
Scipio, *see* Cornelius
Scordisci, 173, 174 (1), 245–7
Scribonius, Gaius, 97
Scribonius Curio, Gaius, 255
Scultenna River, 223, 237
Sea, *see* Adriatic, Euxine, Ionian, Indian, Red, Tuscan
Seleucus (*A—the First*), 375 (4); (*B—the Fourth*), 287, 325
Sempronianus, *see* Veturius
Sempronius, Publius, 7, 55
Sempronius Gracchus, Tiberius, 107–9, 113, 121, 122 (1), 127, 139, 141, 149, 153–5, 156 (1), 201–3, 207, 212 (2), 213, 221, 231, 235–7, 253–5, 273, 283, 286 (3), 287, 393
Sempronius Longus, Gaius, 255; Tiberius, Ti. F., 253
Sempronius Tuditanus, Marcus, 253

Sermo, *see* Marcius
Serranus, *see* Atilius
Servilius, Marcus, 83
Servilius Caepio, Gnaeus (*A*), 253; (*B—son of A*), 179, 251, 303, 359
Servilius Geminus, Gaius, 115, 133, 135
Servius, 281 (2), 372 (1)
Servius Tullius, 380 (1)
Seuthes, 449
Shuckburgh, 7 (4)
Sibylline Books, 61, 115, 143, 255
Sicilians, 383
Sicily, 3, 59, 109, 139, 207, 231, 234 (1), 253, 293, 321, 367–71, 383
Sicinius, Gnaeus, 225, 317–21, 343, 347, 353, 367–9, 383, 397–9, 437
Siculus, *see* Cloelius, Diodorus
Sigonius, 243 (3), 259 (3)
Sinope, 6 (2), 7
Sinuessa, 255, 281
Sopater, 503
Sorrento, 60 (2)
Spain, 7, 55, 84 (1), 109, 113, 114 (1), 116 (1), 121, 128 (2), 131, 135 (4), 137, 147, 156 (1), 181, 200 (2), 201–3, 211, 231, 273, 276 (1), 277, 281, 283, 286 (3), 287, 293, 299, 319–21, 371, 383, 391–3; (Farther), 3, 53, 54 (1), 109, 121, 131–3, 157, 231, 251, 293, 321; (Nearer), 3, 54 (1), 55, 93, 103, 107–9, 113, 231, 251, 293, 303, 321; Spains, 3, 5, 59, 139, 345
Spaniards, 85, 95, 141, 153, 203
Sparta, Spartans, *see* Lacedaemon, Lacedaemonians
Spes (*temple*), 159
Spurinus, *see* Petilius
Stasinus, 8 (1)
Statellae, 311
Statellates, 313, 349
Statelli, 351
Stobi, 67
Strabo, 70 (1), 152 (1), 222 (1), 398 (3), 490 (1)
Strabo, *see* Licinius
Stratonice, 338 (2)
Strymon River, 449
Stuberra, 77
Sulca, *see* Baebius
Sulla, *see* Cornelius
Sulpicius, Lucius, 83; Publius, 391
Sulpicius Galba, Gaius, 253, 371, 383, 395
Sulpicius Gallus, Gaius, 87
Sun, 71
Susus, 449
Sycurium, 459–61, 465, 469, 487, 493–5
Syllus, 449
Syphax, 55–7
Syracuse, 223–5
Syria, 287, 311, 367; Hollow (Coele), 375

TACITUS, *Annals*, 389 (3); *Germania*, 434 (1)
Tamphilus, *see* Baebius
Tarentum, 59, 187
Tarquinii, 89
Tarracina, 141, 157
Tarraco, 121, 127
Tatius, Titus, 145
Taurasini, 119
Taurus (*mountain*), 419, 445
Tegea, 249
Tempe, 405 (3), 459, 483, 503
Terentius Culleo, Quintus, 397
Terentius Istra, Gaius, 3, 89
Terentius Massiliota, Lucius, 107
Terentius Varro, Aulus, 7, 55, 365
Theban, a, 487 (1)
Thebans, 425, 430 (4), 431–3, 505; (individuals), 329, 411–3
Thebes, 325, 421–3, 431, 437, 463 (4), 471 (2), 491
Theoxena, 9, 181
Thermopylae, 105
Thermus, *see* Minucius
Thespiae, 423, 464 (1)
Thessalian League, 404 (2), 405
Thessalians, 9, 267, 303–7, 363, 405, 459, 463, 479
Thessalonica, 11, 77, 171, 471, 503
Thessaly, 259, 263, 329–31, 397 (2), 401–3, 411, 417 (2), 437, 461, 503–7
Thisbe, 430 (4)
Thrace, 31, 70 (1), 171–3, 175 (2), 176 (3), 327, 347, 449, 502 (1)
Thracians, 9, 175–7, 245–7, 346 (1), 347, 377 (3), 449–53, 467, 473, 477, 495, 503
Thrasippus, 447
Thurrus, 153
Thyrsis, 77
Tiber, 159, 279
Timavus, 185–7
Timotheus, 503
Tripolis (*Perrhaebic*), 456 (1), 457, 505; Scaea, 463
Titinius, Marcus, 179 (1), 211, 231, 273

Titinius Curvus, Marcus, 179, 199, 201
Tremellius, Gaius, 303
Trigemina Gate, 159, 279
Tubero, *see* Aelius
Tuditanus *see* Sempronius
Tullius, Servius, 380 (1)
Turdus, *see* Papirius
Tuscan Sea, 127
Tusculum, 233

URBICNA (Urbicua), 55
Uria, 439; (*Apulia*), 439 (2); (*Calabria*), 439 (2)

VACCAEI, 149, 157, 287
Vahlen, 236 (1)
Valerius Antias, 90 (4), 91, 277, 321, 435 (2)
Valerius Maximus, 90 (4), 92 (2), 103 (4), 104 (1), 129 (2), 241 (2), 242 (2), 276 (2), 277 (3), 286 (2), 298 (1)
Valerius Flaccus, Lucius, 133, 156 (2)
Valerius Laevinus, Gaius (*A*), 139, 237–9, 243, 273, 309, 339, 343; (*B or* Publius?), 207; Marcus, 3, 83, 473
Valerius Messalla, Marcus, 257, 373
Varro, 90 (4), *and see* Terentius
Veii, 255, 297
Velleius, 129 (2), 136 (1), 277 (3)
Venetia, 277
Venus (*temple*), 279; Erycina (*temple*), 103
Vergil, *Aeneid*, 281 (2), 372 (1)
Verria, 447 (4)
Vesta (*temple*), 287
Vestal Virgins, 288 (3)
Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus, Titus, 254 (1), 255
Victory, Glorious, 470 (1)
Villius Annalis, Lucius, 137, 371, 383
Virgil, *Aeneid*, 281 (2), 372 (1)
Vitruvius, 140 (1)
Voconian Law, 285 (2), 289 (3)
Voconius Saxa, Quintus, 289
Voigt, 209 (6)
Volso, *see* Manlius
Vulcan, 223; (*precinct*), 61

WEISSENBORN, 280 (1), 447 (7)
White, 333 (1)
White, Temple, 143

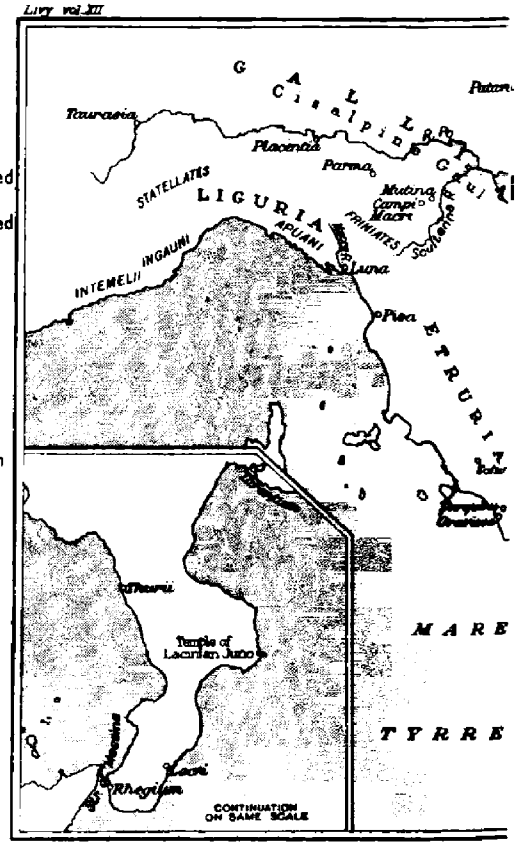
XENARCHUS, 259, 260 (1), 265
Xychus, 166 (1), 167

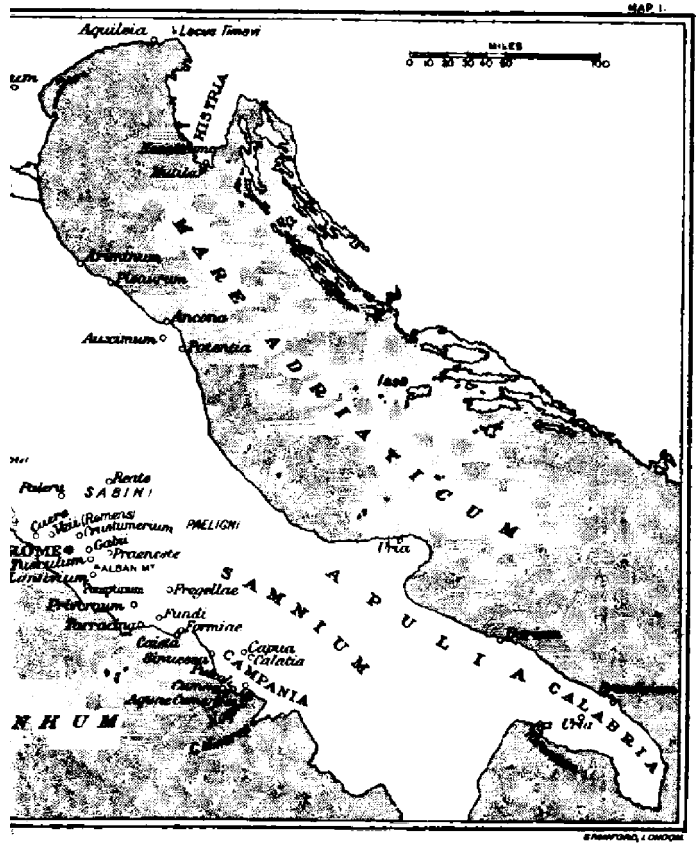
ZEUS, Olympios, 248 (1), 287 (5), *and see* Jupiter Olympius
Zippel, 58 (2)
Zionaras, 367 (3)

MAPS

Names mentioned by Livy, but position undefined

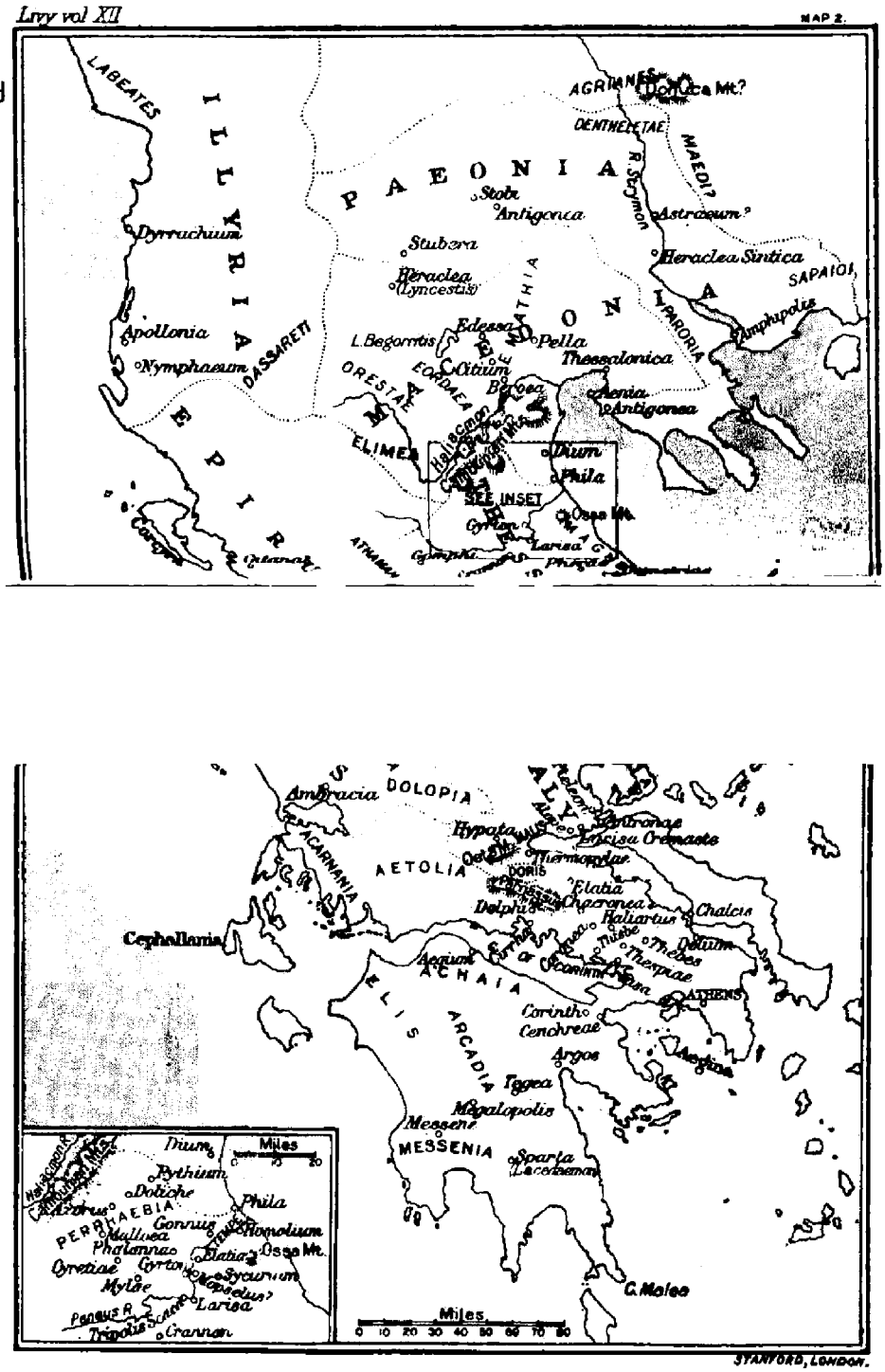
R. Audena
Mt. Ballista
Carystus
Crustumina
Faveria
Garuli
Hergates
Lapicini
Mt. Letum
Mt. Suismontium





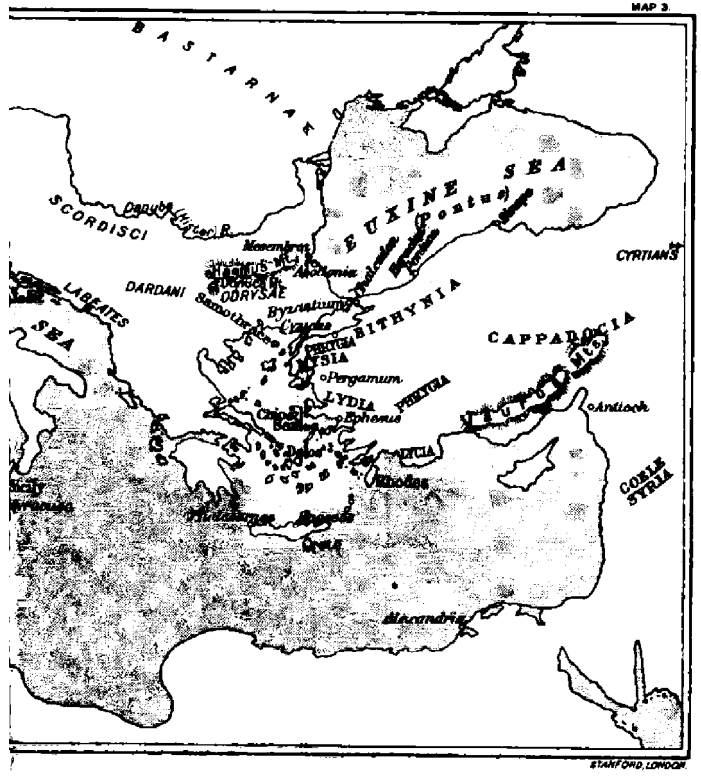
Names mentioned by Livy, but position undefined

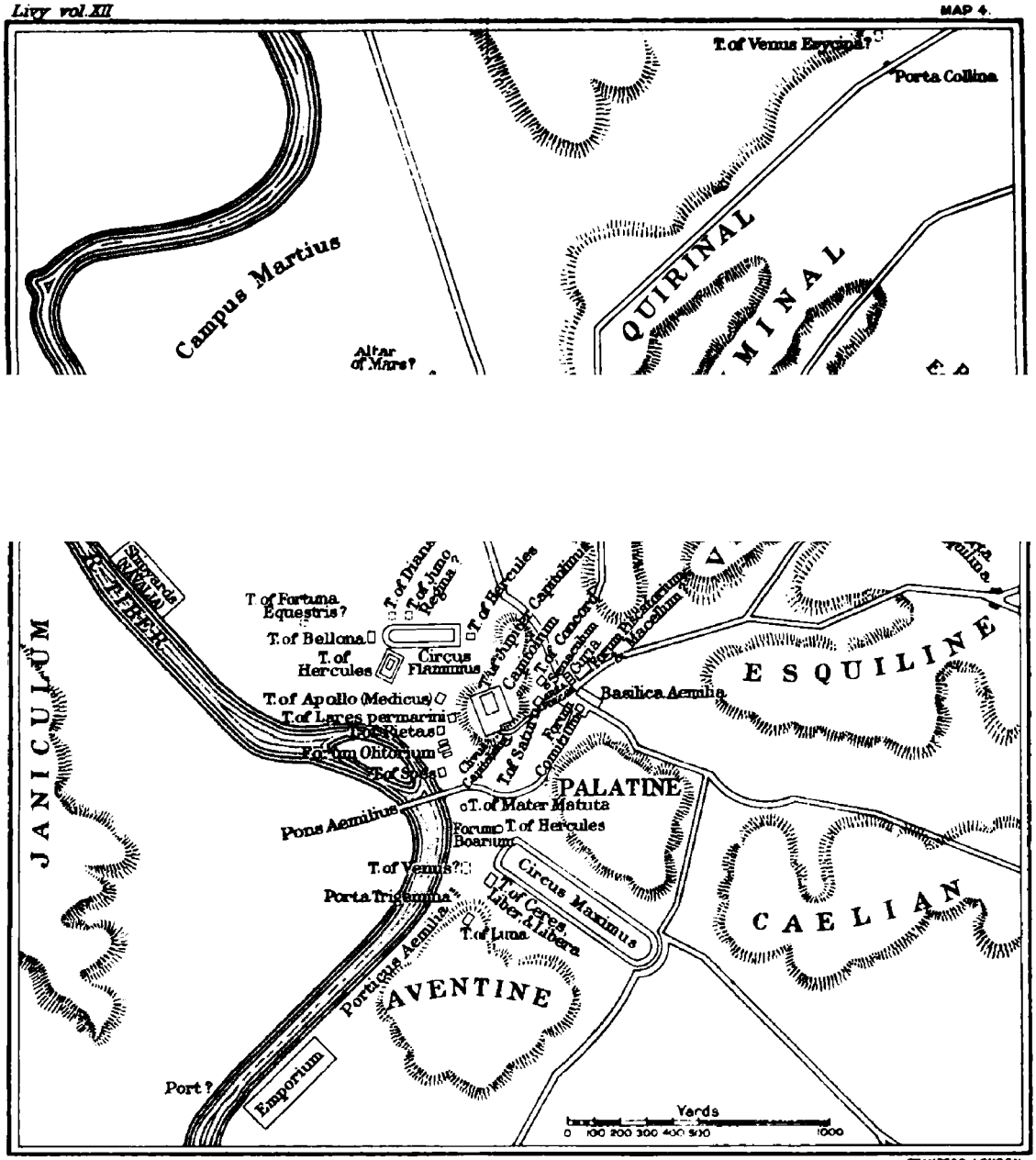
Arthetaurus
Autlesbis
Cepuati
Eulyestae
Marene
Petra



Names mentioned by Livy, but position undefined

Asbura
Certima





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